CORNELII TACITI

DE GERMANIA

FURNEAUX

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CORNELII TACITI

DE GERMANIA

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND MAP

BY

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PREFACE

THIS edition, originally undertaken with a view to the requirements of the higher forms of schools, has been considerably enlarged in the course of preparation, and now appears on a scale uniform with that of my edition of the Annals. It even exceeds it in the proportion of commentary to text, and represents a corresponding amount of time and work; but it still needs to be prefaced by an apology for the incompleteness which thorough students will easily detect in it.

It has been evident to me during my work upon it that the preparation of a really comprehensive edition would require such a knowledge of German archaeology, history, and law, as probably not many Englishmen possess, and which few who have acquired it would care to bring to bear on so limited an object. A full study would also have to be added of all the minor works and monographs on various points which the national interest in the subject has accumulated and still continues to accumulate in Germany; and an editor who desired duly to gather up and review the results of such research, would have to make his commentary so apparently disproportionate to the bulk of the treatise itself as to repel the majority of students.

I have therefore ventured to hope that, by striking a balance between the meagreness of a schoolbook and the fulness of an exhaustive edition, I may have best consulted the requirements of most English readers. These, while desiring to study this remarkable treatise in the light of the principal results of recent criticism, may probably not care to enter fully into what is still, and is likely always to continue to be, obscure and doubtful, or to have more than a very concise treatment of difficulties, coupled with some indication of works in which those who desire further discussion may find it.

The text adopted is generally that of Halm, but differs from it in a few places for reasons given in each case.[1] The critical notes will be found to contain the more important variations of the principal MSS. and the source of the text adopted, where it differs from them; but such further discussion as can be given of conjectural emendations will be found in the explanatory notes. The most complete and accurate collation known to me of the four leading MSS. is that of Karl Muellenhoff (Berlin, 1873), and where, as is not unfrequently the case, editors vary in their citation of these MSS., I have generally thought it best to follow him. Three other MSS., preserved in Germany, are cited from the collation of Alfred Holder (Leipzig, 1878).

In the Introduction and commentary I have been chiefly indebted to recent German editions of the work itself, especially to that of Schweizer-Sidler in the new issue of Orelli (Berlin, 1877), the abridged

[1] See notes on c. 13, 2; 26, 1; 30, 3; 36, 1; 38, 4; 45, 1; 46, 3.

school edition by the same (fifth ed. Halle, 1890),[1] and the extremely useful and concise edition of Zernial (Berlin, 1890).[2] I have also made use of those of Kritz (fourth ed., by Hirschfelder, 1878) and Prammer (Vienna, 1889), and of the English editions of Latham (London, 1851), Church and Brodribb (London, 1869),[3] Allen (Boston, 1885), &c., and have to some extent consulted the extremely full commentary (without text) of Prof. Anton Baumstark (Leipzig, part i, 1875; part ii, 1880).[4]

Other and more general works have been chiefly known to me through these sources, but some independent use has been made of Grimm's Mythology,[5] and of K. Muellenhoff's Deutsche Altertumskunde.[6] I have also in several places referred to Dr. Isaac Taylor's Origin of the Aryans, and through it to other works not often easily accessible, also on one or two points to D. W. Ross, The early history of landholding among the Germans (London, 1883).

In editing this treatise for English readers, I have wished constantly to indicate its importance, almost as great to us as to the Germans themselves, as bearing on the early history of so many of our institutions, and to illustrate from these as much as possible. In this I have derived the greatest assistance from

[1] This edition, though more concise than the other, is yet very full in its notes, and has the advantage of being brought down to much later date, and of containing an introduction.

[2] My obligations to these three works are far too numerous to be always specified.

[3] I should also here add their translation (London, 1877).

[4] The two parts of this work contain together more than 1000 pages, much of which is of a polemical character, in which really valuable remarks are apt to be overlooked. I have used this, as his later work, rather than his Urdeutsche Staatsalterthümer of 1873.

[5] This work is cited from the English edition by Stallybrass (London, 1880–1883).

[6] Of this great work only two volumes appeared in the author's lifetime. Vols. iii and v have since been brought out by Rödiger, but vol. iv, which would bear most directly on Tacitus, has not yet appeared.

Kemble's Anglo-Saxons in England (London, 1876) and from Bishop Stubbs' Constitutional History of England, vol. i, also from Prof. Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest, vol. i, and Growth of the English Constitution (London, 1872), Mr. F. Seebohm's The English Village Community (London, 1884) and other works specified in places. It is greatly to be wished that English students should follow the example set by these writers, especially by Bishop Stubbs, in recognizing the importance of this treatise among the original authorities for their own national history.

Several monographs and other works have been consulted and, I believe, duly acknowledged; it will be seen that many other such are cited at second hand only; and I fear I must apologize for the omission of many more which have been overlooked or are altogether unknown to me.

I have here to express my regret that I had omitted, until after the following pages were printed, to consult the essay of M. de Coulanges (Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'Histoire. Paris, 1885) on the German land tenure and the statements of Caesar and Tacitus respecting it. It has been satisfactory to find that on many important points his conclusions are in accordance with those which I have endeavoured to set forth; but I should have been very glad to have reconsidered in detail several notes on ch. 26 and on other passages in the light of his arguments.

OXFORD,
June, 1894.

INTRODUCTION

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SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

RUODOLPHUS, a learned monk of Fulda in Hesse Cassel, in the middle of the ninth century, is clearly shown to have had access to a MS. of this treatise by having transcribed several of its sentences into a work of his own[1].

The next information is derived from a note in an existing MS. ('Leidensis'), stating that it was transcribed in 1460 by Iovius Pontanus from a much decayed and corrupted exemplar (now lost), discovered by Enoch Asculanus, who had been sent to search in France and Germany during the Papacy of Nicolas V (1447–1455). This MS. appears to have been found at Hersfeld, near Fulda, or at Fulda itself, and has been thought to have been the one known to Ruodolphus; but this is questioned on the ground that it would

[1] See F. Ritter, Praef. p. xvii. Ruodolphus also shows acquaintance with a copy of the early Books of the Annals. See Introd. to Annals, i. p. 5.

appear to have used abbreviations characteristic of the thirteenth century. It contained also the 'Dialogus' and the short treatise of Suetonius 'de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus,' and is taken to be the parent of all the existing MSS. Of these, the four most cited by editors of the Germania are ranked in two families, derived from two lost copies which may be designated as X and Y[1].

Those of the X family are:—

1. B. Vaticanus 1862[2].
2. b. 'Leidensis' (see above) now at Leyden, also called 'Pontanus,' and (from its first known possessor) 'Perizonianus,' but now found to be not the actual copy taken by Pontanus, but one from it by Geelius.

To the other, or Y family, belong:—

3. C. Vaticanus 1518.
4. c. Farnesianus or Neapolitanus, now at Naples, to which Lipsius, and afterwards Niebuhr, attached great importance, but which is now less valued.

Closely allied to these two is another Vatican MS. (4498), designated as Δ, the readings of which are sometimes, but very rarely noted[3].

Neither of these families has uniformly a better text than the other, and both have had their advocates, but B, b are generally to be ranked highest. It should also be noted that other MSS. preserved in Germany have been by some reckoned to be of primary importance, namely one (now lost) called 'Hummelianus' (H), and two others at Munich and Stuttgart (M and S), all of which are maintained to be derived from copies taken of the old MS. before it came into the possession of Asculanus[4].

It is at any rate evident that the corruption or illegibility of the old MS. itself must have been great, and that the text is in a less satisfactory state than that of the Annals or the Histories.

[1] The relations of the MSS. here cited and of others have been much more fully investigated as regards the 'Dialogus' by Bährens (1881) and Scheuer (1891), and most completely by Principal Peterson in his edition of that treatise (1893), to which the reader is referred. Of the other MSS. cited by him, some do not contain the Germania, and others, as the two 'Vindobonenses,' appear to have been unnoticed by its editors.

[2] The letters here used to designate these four MSS. are those used by Halm, Müllenhoff, and Joh. Müller. By Schweizer-Sidler and others they are designated as A. B. C. D.

[3] On this MS. see the Introduction to the Agricola.

[4] In the edition of Alfred Holder (Leipzig, 1878) the text is partly based on these, but all of them, especially the two latter, appear to contain many corruptions of their own.

SECTION II.

LIFE OF TACITUS TO THE DATE OF THE GERMANIA.

The reckoning of time in c. 37, 2 would show the work to have been completed in A. D. 98, the first year of Trajan's principate [1].

Tacitus was born, apparently of an equestrian family, probably not earlier than A. D. 50 nor later than A. D. 55 [2]. He was brought up to the forensic profession, was admitted in youth to the society of the great orators and men of letters of the time [3], and was probably a pupil of Quintilian. In A. D. 77 or 78 he was married to the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola [4], and at about the same date he began his public career, receiving successive steps of promotion by the direct favour of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian [5], under the latter of whom he had become praetor and 'quindecimvir sacris faciendis' in A. D. 88 [6]. Up to this date his life had been spent in Rome, where we find from his friend the younger Pliny [7] that he had reached an extremely high position among the orators of the day and was one of the leaders of the Roman bar. Soon after his praetorship he left Rome for four years [8] (A. D. 89–93, or 90–94), and was thus absent at the death of his father-in-law Agricola. His absence must have been due to the tenure of some provincial appointment, such as a senator of praetorian rank could hold. It has been thought that he may have been governor (legatus Augusti propraetore) of Gallia Belgica [9], and may thus have acquired some personal knowledge of the nearer Germans [10]. On his return to Rome he lived in evil times, and must have been so far unacceptable to Domitian that he received no further favour, though he appears to have avoided imperilling himself by active opposition [11]. To Nerva he was indebted for the

[1] The fact that Trajan alone is mentioned as consul would show that Nerva was then dead, but it does not seem necessary to assume, with Asbach, that the publication must have taken place while Trajan was still actually consul; i.e. within the two first months of the year.

[2] The evidence for this and other biographical details is given fully in Annals. vol. i. Introd. pp. 1–4.

[3] See Dial. 1, 2.

[4] See Agr. 9, 7.

[5] H. 1. 1, 4.

[6] A. 11. 11, 3.

[7] See Epp. 7. 20, 4, &c.

[8] See Agr. 45, 3–5.

[9] He could possibly have been a legatus legionis in one of the 'Germaniae,' but this is not a kind of employment that he is at all likely to have held.

[10] It is very doubtful (see below, p. 12) whether he ever had such personal knowledge.

[11] See Introduction to Agricola.

designation to the consulship, which he held either in the lifetime of that prince, in A.D. 97, or immediately after his death in 98[1]. He was therefore either consul or a consular, and thus in the highest senatorial rank, when he published this treatise, probably very shortly after the publication of the Agricola.

SECTION III.

PURPOSE OF THE TREATISE.

Much has been written on this subject[2], but the conclusions reached can never be fully satisfactory, as the internal evidence, aided by what little is known of the circumstances of the time, is all that we have to go upon.

The appearance of this work almost simultaneously with one so different from it as the Agricola suggests the existence of some motives common to both, and others peculiar to each treatise. As regards the first kind, it must be borne in mind that Tacitus, however eminent as a pleader and orator, was probably as yet very little known as a writer[3], and altogether unknown in the field of study to which he had formed the intention of devoting himself. He was already engaged in the composition of a great work on his own times, which ultimately appeared as his 'Historiae[4],' and might well have desired to prepare the way by something on a less ambitious scale, and to win the interest of readers for his greater effort and for the political ideas inspiring it.

He would also have been encouraged to the composition of historical monographs by illustrious examples, especially by that of Sallust, whom he is shown by frequent imitation throughout his writings to have regarded as a model; and who had himself thus combined a general historical work with special treatises on subjects of peculiar interest. While he was feeling his way as a writer, Tacitus would naturally be more disposed to imitate than afterwards, and as

[1] The date of his consulship is fixed by that of the death of Verginius Rufus (Plin. Epp. 2. 1, 6), who is thought by most to have died in 97, but by Asbach and Urlichs to have lived till 98.

[2] For further discussion of this question, see the Introductions of Schweizer-Sidler and Zernial, and Asbach's dissertation on Tacitus and his writings in Von Raumer's Historisches Taschenbuch for 1886, pp. 74–88.

[3] The 'Dialogus,' assuming it to be his, is the only known work that he had previously published.

[4] See on Agr. 3, 3.

the 'Dialogus' represents his Ciceronian, we might say that the Germania and Agricola represent his Sallustian period; the influence of that writer being traced in the plan of the latter work [1], and perhaps as a source of material in the former [2], as well as in the style and language of both [3].

When it is asked, what particular reasons may have led Tacitus to choose this particular subject for such separate treatment, the explanation is naturally sought in those parts of the treatise which show most evidence of being written with a purpose: hence some have supposed, from the descriptions of German hardihood and courage, and of the disasters which Rome had suffered at their hands [4], that he desired to turn men's thoughts from any idea of subjugating them; others, that he intended to lash the vices of effete civilization by contrast with the virtues of healthy barbarism [5]; such explanations being plainly too partial to account for the treatise as a whole, which we cannot suppose to have been written for the mere purpose of bringing in a few telling passages.

The abrupt beginning and ending of the work have suggested the idea that it was written for insertion in the Histories [6], and was for some reason afterwards taken out and published separately. The 'situs gentium' is certainly reckoned by Tacitus among the proper subjects of history [7]; and we have evidence of his practice in the account of Britain in the Agricola [8] and of the Jews in the Histories [9], as well as of that of other writers [10]. It is of course impossible to suppose that such an excursus could have been intended to extend to anything like the length of the present treatise: it is nevertheless possible that, while on the one hand he may have come to think that he was writing on no such era in the relations of Rome and Germany as to warrant more than a very brief preparatory sketch, on the other, the richness of material, the interest of the subject, the consciousness that he could correct and improve upon the work of his predecessors, may have led

[1] See Introduction to Agricola.

[2] See below, p. 13.

[3] For such traces in the Germania, see below, p. 11.

[4] See especially c. 37.

[5] See especially c. 18–20, and below, p. 30.

[6] It would be supposed that the wars of Domitian (see on c. 37, 6) furnished the occasion for such an 'Excursus.' It should, however, be remembered that there is some difference of style between this work and the Histories.

[7] A. 4. 33, 3.

[8] c. 10–17.

[9] 5. 1–13.

[10] Sallust had written such a sketch on Africa (Jug. 17–19), and is thought to have written on the Germans (see below, p. 13), as also certainly had Caesar (B. G. 4. 1–4; 6. 21–28) and Livy (see below, p. 13).

him to abandon his original intention, convert the excursus into a substantive work, and enlarge it to its present dimensions.

Nor are we wholly without grounds of conjecture as to his possible reasons for working it up to completion and publishing it at this particular time. The whole subject had acquired a recent interest from the wars of Domitian, and the elevation of Trajan to the principate found him occupied with the charge of the Roman 'Germaniae'[1]; and instead of hastening at once to Rome, where we are told that his presence was eagerly desired, he remained on the Rhine and Danube frontier more than a year longer, carrying out, with his characteristic thoroughness, the defensive policy which had succeeded to the campaigns of Domitian, and which had evidently commended itself to his own judgement[2]. Terms were made with nations on the spot, the frontier all along was carefully laid out and strengthened by colonies and military posts[3]; the 'limes' beyond the Rhine, commenced by previous emperors and carried on by Domitian, was further extended and now included definitely within the empire the 'agri decumates,' and gave the Romanized settlers a safe footing on that once debatable land[4]. At Rome this policy would be regarded with mixed feelings, and the more ardent spirits would be disappointed, as it betokened that the new ruler, great soldier as he was, had not only no intention of advancing the eagles again to the frontier of the Elbe, but even considered that the existing position was perilous, and that circumstances might make the German race formidable even for aggression. At such a time Tacitus comes forward to support this prudent policy with all the force of his eloquence and weight of his position, and to combine with the literary purpose which may have originally led to the collection and arrangement of his store of material the present political aim of familiarising the public mind with the vast extent and overwhelming numbers of the tribes of Germany, the climatic, physical, and economical obstacles to its invasion and subjugation[5], the

[1] See Mommsen, Rom. Hist. v. Eng. Tr. i. 160; Asbach, l. c.

[2] See Plin. Pan. 12–16, 56.

[3] To him are due the Roman occupation or extension of Lupodunum (Ladenburg on the Neckar), afterwards Civitas Ulpia, and Aquae Aureliae (Baden-Baden), also on the lower Rhine a new fortress, afterwards Colonia Traiana takes the place of the ruined Castra Vetera.

[4] See c. 29, 4, and notes, and Momms. l. c. p. 152, foll. The completion of the whole 'limes' from Rhine to Danube, as shown on maps. is of later date.

[5] See c. 5, &c. It is noted that an implied contrast to Italy runs through his description of German soil, climate, &c. Probably also the loyal bond of the German 'comitatus' in war (c. 13–14) is contrasted with the empty sham of the Roman 'clientela.'

heroic courage of its people, and the blows which they had inflicted on Rome during more than two hundred years without any substantial conquest of their territory[1], so as to force him to own, in words that at the end of another century must have seemed prophetic, that only the internal discords of the race could avert the destiny which was hurrying the Roman empire to its destruction[2].

This ethical and political purpose, however insufficient to explain the treatise as a whole, has powerfully influenced the treatment of considerable portions[3]. In exhibiting to his readers the great free people who alone among the nations had ever cast off the yoke once laid upon them, and caused a distinct recession of the Roman frontier, he would naturally use all his skill to idealize the vigorous and manly qualities standing in the sharpest contrast to the enfeebling luxury and vicious degradation of Roman contemporary life. Such contrasts for literary effect are especially sought by Tacitus throughout his writings[4], and have often formed part of the common stock of orators and poets, and such an idea had been already touched by Horace[5] in language showing a sufficiently close resemblance to the thought of Tacitus to suggest some common source of both of them[6].

'Campestres melius Scythae,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getae,
Immetata quibus iugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua,
Defunctumque laboribus
Aequali recreat sorte vicarius.
Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens,
Nec dotata regit virum
Coniux nec nitido fidit adultero.
Dos est magna parentium
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo foedere castitas;
Et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.'

[1] c. 37, 2–6.

[2] c. 33, 2.

[3] Here again he has followed the example of Sallust, whose Catiline and Jugurtha have been called political treatises skilfully disguised. See Momms. Hist. E. T. iv. 184, note.

[4] See Introduction to Annals, i. p. 28. In this treatise even the lowest type of life described has a halo of rhetoric thrown round it (c. 46, 5).

[5] Od. 3. 24, 9–24. These distant regions are the abode of virtue from the earliest literature, as in Homer (see Il. 13, 6), in the Hyperboreans of Pindar (Pyth. 10, 50, foll.) and other writers, and as late as Justin (2. 2).

[6] See below, p. 13, note 1.

SECTION IV.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

On the style of Tacitus as a whole, reference must be made to other works [1], and attention must here be briefly directed to a particular phase of it [2]. To pass through different phases is common to most authors whose style is strongly pronounced, and whose work is spread over many years [3]; and in the case of Tacitus we have the additional circumstance of a change of pursuit in middle life from forensic oratory to historical composition, leading him to form a style in which the new study was blended with the old.

In the 'Dialogus [4]' the style, no less than the choice of subject, wholly bespeaks a rhetorician, though of a type then perhaps somewhat antiquated, one seeking to reform a decadent eloquence by the study of the old great masters, especially Cicero, while the usages of the silver age and special Tacitean style are so far latent that a superficial reader would hardly notice them.

The Agricola and Germania, separated by some fourteen years from this treatise [5], and by rather more than that time in the other direction from the Annals [6], are not strongly marked off in date from the Histories [7], yet a comparison of them even with that work would show that they are fully intermediate in style, and represent a period in which the historian is still at times subordinate to the orator, who again is somewhat holding a balance between the more classical type of the 'Dialogus' and that of the pleader of his day, compelled to conform more or less to the exigencies of a fashion which had

[1] See my edition of the Annals, Vol. i. Introd. ch. 5, and the abridgement in the school edition of A. 1-4. Of separate treatises, the most complete is that of Draeger, the most concise that of Gantrelle.

[2] On the gradual development of the style of Tacitus, the most valuable treatise is that of E. Wölfflin, in 'Philologus,' xxv. pp. 92-134.

[3] Wölfflin remarks that differences have been noted between the Catiline and Jugurtha of Sallust and between the first decade of Livy and later portions, and that they would probably be more noteworthy if the whole works of these authors had survived. Among modern writers a signal instance of such development of style is that of Carlyle.

[4] On the whole subject of the style of that treatise, the reader must be referred to Peterson's Introd. Sect. iv.

[5] Peterson gives reasons (Introd. p. xviii) for supposing the 'Dialogus' to have been written about A.D. 84-85.

[6] The completion of the Annals would be dated about A.D. 116.

[7] The latter were already in course of composition when these treatises were published (see above, p. 4).

discarded Ciceronian rotundity, and required its speakers to be terse, epigrammatic, and striking[1], tolerant of Graecisms[2], and enriching their phraseology from the treasury of classical poetry or by original inventions of their own.

Of the practice of seeking effect by novelty of diction we have such instances as 'eiectamenta' (c. 45, 5), 'improcerus' (c. 5, 1), 'inlaborare' (c. 46, 5), 'inlacessitus' (c. 36, 1, also in Agr.), probably 'praetracto' (c. 11, 1), and some words apparently here first used in prose, as 'feralis' (c. 43, 6), 'inexhaustus' (c. 20, 3, and in Hist.), 'monstrator' (c. 21, 2), &c., but we have not yet such archaic revivals as 'claritudo' and 'necessitudo' substituted for the Ciceronian 'claritas' (c. 34, 2) and 'necessitas' (c. 15, 2), nor does he as yet prefer 'cupido' to 'cupiditas' (c. 19, 4; 35, 3), nor 'dum' to 'dummodo' (c. 6, 6). The poetical use, so frequent in the Annals, of simple verbs for compound, is here sparing: there are isolated instances (for example) of 'clarescere' (c. 14, 3, also in Dial.), 'cludere' (c. 45, 6), 'firmare' (c. 39, 1), 'monstratus' (c. 31, 4), 'vocare' (c. 14, 5); on the other hand we have 'adsuescere' (c. 4, 3), not 'suescere,' 'evalescere' (c. 28, 1), not 'valescere,' and the verbal substantive 'apparatus' (c. 14, 4; 23, 1), not 'paratus[3].'

In the diction as a whole we have not the same general straining after compression which becomes afterwards so characteristic of him, though we are not without signal examples of it. It would be hard to find even in his latest works expressions so harsh from their brevity as 'vallare noctem' (c. 30, 2), to say less of 'non in alia vilitate' (c. 5, 4), 'virgines festinantur' (c. 20, 3), 'ius parendi' (c. 44, 3), 'regia utilitas' (c. 44, 4), 'frumenta laborare' (c. 45, 4), &c. We have again, though sparingly, some of his favourite ellipses, as of 'sit' or 'sint' (c. 13, 3, &c.), of 'magis' (c. 6, 6), of 'non solum' before 'sed et' (c. 17, 3; 45, 4: in c. 35, 2 the full expression is used), or of 'et' or 'etiam' after the former (c. 10, 5), or of similar words (c. 10, 1). To set against these, it may be noted among syntactical usages that we have here a solitary and not strong instance of the concise expression of purpose by the gerundive dative (c. 11, 2), while the still more

[1] Dial. c. 19–20.

[2] Tacitus in all his writings uses such very sparingly: in the Germania we may note the construction 'est videre' (c. 6, 4), 'ex aequo' (c. 36, 3, also in Liv.), and 'conferre armentorum aut frugum' (c. 15, 2), also the Greek expression 'pretia nascendi rettulisse' (c. 31, 2).

[3] In the Annals, and to some extent in the Histories, it will be found that what is here noted as occasional is more frequent, and that what is here noted as absent is also common. 'Paratus' is used once in Agr. (25, 3).

characteristic corresponding gerundive genitive[1] is wholly absent, as is also the use of a participle in the ablative absolute as predicate, with a sentence as subject[2]: also the instances of condensation by zeugma are comparatively few[3], whereas in the Annals they are more numerous than in any other prose author.

On the other hand, there are many ways in which his rhetorical exuberance is less subdued than when his historical style had become more ripe; and the emphasis which in his later writings would rather be studied by skilful arrangement of words is here often given by the sort of expansion used by an orator to drive home his point to his listeners. Thus what is called 'anaphora,' or the repetition for emphasis of an adjective, pronoun, adverb, &c., is especially frequent[4]: frequent also is a general redundancy of expression, sometimes in the form of pleonasm, as 'initium incohatur' (c. 30, 1), much oftener by combination of nearly if not quite synonymous expressions[5], as 'recens et nuper additum' (c. 2, 5), 'propriam et sinceram et sui similem' (c. 4, 1), 'laboris atque operum' (c. 4, 3), 'lucos ac nemora' (c. 9, 3), 'temere ac fortuito' (c. 10, 1), 'constituunt . . . condicunt' (c. 11, 2), 'ignavos et inbelles' (c. 12, 1), 'infame . . . probrosum' (c. 14, 2), 'defendere, tueri' (do.), 'pace et otio' (c. 14, 3), 'pigrum et iners' (c. 14, 5), 'discreti ac diversi' (c. 16, 2), 'extremo ac novissimo' (c. 24, 3), 'dolorem et tristitiam' (c. 27, 2), 'sede finibusque . . . mente animoque' (c. 29, 3), 'raptibus aut latrociniis' (c. 35, 3), 'subiecta atque parentia' (c. 39, 4), 'pax et quies' (c. 40, 4), 'arma castraque . . . domos villasque' (c. 41, 2), 'vis et potentia' (c. 42, 2), 'rude . . . informe' (c. 45, 5). Sometimes rhetorical point is given by alliteration, as 'mutuo metu aut montibus' (c. 1, 1), 'terrent trepidantve' (c. 3, 1), 'sudore . . . sanguine' (c. 14, 5), 'pace . . . proelio' (c. 18, 3), 'lamenta et lacrimas' (c. 27, 2), 'sanguinem et spolia' (c. 31, 2), 'virtutis et virium' (c. 35, 4), 'proeliis ac periclitando' (c. 40, 1): sometimes a more poetical turn is sought by hendiadys, as 'monumenta et tumulos' (c. 3, 3), 'maculis pellibusque' (c. 17, 2), 'disciplina et severitate . . . impetu

[1] E.g. 'Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis' (A. 2. 59, 1): both this genitive and the dative have constantly in the Annals the force of a final sentence.

[2] E.g. 'addito acutiorem esse' (A. 1. 35, 6). This usage is very characteristic of the Annals.

[3] Cp. c. 2, 1; 7, 4; 17, 4.

[4] See especially chapters 13, 14, 18, 19, throughout, also c. 7, 4; 11, 5; 16, 1; 20, 1–2; 24, 4; 37, 3; 46, 3, &c.

[5] The instances of such synonyms in the 'Dialogus' are far more numerous: see Peterson, Introd. p. li, foll.

et ira' (c. 25, 2), 'similitudine et inertia' (c. 28, 4), 'oblectationi oculisque' (c. 33, 2), 'castra ac spatia' (c. 37, 1), 'formidine atque umbra' (c. 43, 6), or by stilted expressions for common things, as 'ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare' (c. 45, 6), or by somewhat daring personification or metaphor. We have few, if any, bolder figures in his works than 'donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat' (c. 20, 2), 'Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit' (c. 30, 1), 'obstitit Oceanus in se inquiri' (c. 34, 3[1]).

If thus in some points the Germania approaches nearer to his earlier manner, the traces of a study or imitation of other writers show more resemblance to his later. The Ciceronian phraseology so prominent in the 'Dialogus' becomes supplanted by that taken from poets and historians. His evident admiration of Vergil already bears fruit in his description of the sacred grove (c. 39, 2), and in such expressions as 'originem gentis' (c. 2, 3), 'bellatorem equum' (c. 14, 4), 'vocare hostem' (c. 14, 5), 'spina consertum' (c. 17, 1), 'nuptiis ambiuntur' (c. 17, 4), 'lac concretum' (c. 23, 1), 'expediam' (c. 27, 3), 'colles rarescunt' (c. 30, 1), 'velis ministrant' (c. 44, 2), 'erigitur' (c. 46, 2)[2]; Horace seems to leave a trace in the contrast of 'mores and leges' (c. 19, 5), and perhaps in 'ferox bello' (c. 32, 4); Ovid in 'pressos . . . . curru' (c. 12, 4), perhaps in 'nec rubor' (c. 13, 2), and 'quantum ad' (c. 21, 3); Lucan perhaps in 'exsanguis senectus' (c. 31, 5), and the use of 'annus' for 'annona' (c. 14, 5). Among prose authors, besides expressions borrowed from those from whom he is known to have derived material[3], we trace Livy in 'neque confirmare neque refellere in animo est' (c. 3, 4), 'saepta pudicitia' (c. 19, 1), 'urgentibus imperii fatis' (c. 33, 2), and should probably trace him oftener if his excursus on the Germans had been preserved to us[4]. His debt to Sallust is apparently larger, and might well have seemed larger still, had we more means of comparison. It has been stated that it may extend to the general idea of such a separate work[5], and to some of the material[6], and it shows itself further in the occasional interspersion of sententious maxims[7], also in such phrases as 'dediti

[1] For some other figures or metaphors see c. 1, 3; 42, 1; 44, 2.

[2] To these should be added the words given above as introduced into prose (p. 9), and uses of anastrophe, as in 'quin-etiam' (c. 3. 3), &c.

[3] As Caesar, Mela, Pliny: see below, p. 12–13.

[4] See below, p. 13. [5] See above, p. 4.

[6] See below, p, 13.

[7] E.g. c. 14, 3; 30, 3; 36, 1; 44, 4. Cp. many such in Sall. Cat. 1–3; Jug. 1–3, &c.

somno ciboque' (c. 15, 1), 'prodigi alieni, contemptores sui' (c. 31, 5), 'in sapientiam cessit' (c. 36, 2), 'in medio relinquam' (c. 46, 6), &c. Among writers nearer to his own time, he seems to have borrowed from Seneca[1] the somewhat fanciful figure 'sepulchrum caespes erigit' (c. 27, 3), perhaps 'diem disponere' (c. 30, 2), 'crinem submittere' (c. 31, 1).

This brief sketch of the style of this treatise would be incomplete without some notice of the literary skill with which transition is made from one part of the subject to another without apparent disconnexion (see notes on c. 5, 1; 6, 1; 8, 3; 13, 1; 15, 1; 17, 4; 21, 1).

SECTION V.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Tacitus lays no claim to independent knowledge gathered by travel in the country, but rather professes to state what he has 'received[2].' Of previous writers he expressly mentions Caesar alone, and him once only[3]. He is thought to have followed him in some other places also[4], but in general must have rested on later authorities, who had in many points corrected and extended the slight and mostly hearsay knowledge of that date. In a few places he shows signs of having studied the geographical work of Pomponius Mela (A.D. 50)[5], in a somewhat larger number he appears to follow the 'Naturalis Historia' of Pliny[6], but seldom without additional details from other sources. To these extant works[7] we may add others now lost to which he is likely to have been indebted. The great separate work of Pliny in twenty Books on all the Roman wars with Germany[8] may probably have contained some general account of the Germans and their customs; there is evidence that Sallust had written something on the

[1] He appears never to have been a great admirer of his style (see A. 13. 3, 2).

[2] Cp. c. 27, 3, 'haec .... accepimus,' and note.

[3] c. 28, 1. It should be remembered that though Romans had experience of Germans first through the Bastarnae (see on c. 46, 1), next through the Cimbri and Teutons (see on c. 37, 1), and again through the Servile war (see on c. 2, 5), Caesar is the first to give any distinct account of them: see below, p. 17.

[4] See on c. 26, 1-2: verbal resemblances are traced in c. 1, 1; 9, 1, &c.

[5] See on c. 17, 1; 32, 1; some other minor resemblances of expression are noted by Zernial (Introd. p. 9).

[6] See on c. 1, 3; 2, 4; 28, 4; and especially the account of amber in c. 45. Zernial (l.c.) notes some further verbal resemblances.

[7] It is to be noted that there is no trace of any knowledge of Strabo, who is also ignored by Pliny.

[8] See Plin. mi. Epp. 3. 5, 4.

subject [1], though to what extent, or in what part of his work, or in connexion with what events, it is not easy to say. It is more important to note that Livy, our historian's other chief model, had prefixed to his narrative of Caesar's war with Ariovistus an excursus described in terms very similar to the title which Tacitus is thought to have given to his own work [2].

His other sources of information are unknown to us but may well have been very numerous. Germans were often seen at Rome, and many Romans had been brought in contact with many tribes as officials in the provinces on the Rhine, or as traders in the interior. Even the distant north-east had lately been opened up by the amber traffic resulting from Roman luxury [3]. The results of all this observation had probably occupied the minds of many antiquaries whose speculations are traceable in several places throughout the work [4].

SECTION VI.

THE ACCOUNT GIVEN BY TACITUS AND ITS VALUE.

In reviewing the subject-matter of this treatise, we have first to consider the geographical and ethnological portions, but chiefly the account given of the political, moral, and social condition of the people.

Geography is never a strong point with Tacitus, and in this work he seems to have thought it unnecessary to do more than speak in very general terms. In tracing the boundaries he is led to speak of the general course of the Rhine and Danube [5], without having to

[1] A fragment of his Histories (inc. 18 D; iii. 57 K; iii. 27 G) has 'Germani intectum corpus renonibus tegunt,' where Dietsch makes the sentence consistent by inserting 'cetera' before 'intectum,' thinking the language of Tacitus (c. 17, 1) a reminiscence of it. Another fragment explains 'renones' as 'vestes de pellibus' (cp. Tac. c. 17, 2). Dietsch cites several views as to the occasion which might have led Sallust to give some account of the Germans: some even think that he may have described them and other neighbouring races at some length, and that his description may be the source of Vergil's lines on the people of the north (G. 3, 349–383), and those of Horace (see above, p. 7), and of parts of Tacitus. It is on the other hand possible that the fragment represents only a passing remark suggested by some resemblance or contrast in other people.

[2] 'Prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet' (Epit. Liv. 104): cp. the readings of the title of this work (c. 1, 1).

[3] See on c. 45, 5.

[4] See on c. 3, 3; 9, 1; 40, 2; 43, 4; 45, 3, &c.

[5] c. 1. 2–3. He is in advance of Mela, who (3. 2, 25) had made the Alps the southern boundary of the Germans.

mention any tributaries[1]. The ocean frontier is generally characterized as deeply recessed and containing islands of vast magnitude[2]; while the land is spoken of as taking at a certain point a great bend northward[3]. In indicating no other natural boundary eastward than the Carpathians[4] he is more consistent with his own conception of the extent of Germany in that direction than he would have been if he had followed Mela and Pliny in drawing the line at the Vistula[5].

He is satisfied to distinguish the vast area included within these limits into two main portions, the moist plains of the north and north-west, and the forest and mountain tract of the south and south-east[6]. Of the rivers by which it is intersected, he specifies only the Elbe (and that incorrectly[7]); of the forests he notices only the Hercynian[8], and both these apparently for special reasons[9]. His work, in short, stands in no comparison with professed geographical treatises, and he cannot be assumed to be ignorant of all that he has not mentioned[10].

His mapping out of the country among the several tribes is marked by much of his general vagueness, and would probably have been far clearer if rivers and other natural features had been taken more account of. Sometimes definiteness is given by the mention of the Rhine or Danube, the ocean, or a mountain tract[11], very often the position of this or that people is given only relatively to that of others, as 'a fronte,' 'a tergo,' 'a latere[12],' and is more and more vaguely indicated, as is but natural, the more he recedes from the frontier. We have, however, certainly no earlier extant account in

[1] The Main is casually mentioned in c. 28, 2.

[2] c. 1, 1.

[3] c. 35, 1. It must be admitted that Mela and Pliny speak more accurately of the Baltic as a gulf ('sinus Codanus'), and that the latter has more correctly conceived the peninsular form of Jutland (see note on c. 37, 1). The error of supposing Scandinavia to be an island (see c. 44, 2, and note) was common to all ancient geographers.

[4] These are only in small part a boundary: see on c. 1, 1.

[5] See Mela 3. 4, 33; Plin. N.H. 4, 12, 25, 81; 13, 27, 97. Some undoubted Germans seem to extend beyond this limit (c. 44, 1), as well as others whom he inclined to rank as such (c. 45–46).

[6] c. 5, 1.

[7] c. 41, 2, and note.

[8] c. 28, 2; 30, 1. The Black Forest ('Abnoba') is mentioned only as the source of the Danube (c. 1, 3).

[9] The Elbe seems to be mentioned for the sake of the regretful words which follow ('flumen inclutum et notum olim, nunc tantum auditur'), the Hercynian forest as the natural fortress of the Chatti who were recently so well known in Roman warfare.

[10] At the time of writing the Annals, he certainly knew the position of the Amisia and Visurgis (Ems and Weser) and some other rivers, and gives names of forests, marshes, &c.

[11] E.g. c. 29, 1; 30, 1; 32, 1; 35, 1; 37, 1; 41, 1; 42, 1.

[12] E.g. c. 33, 1: 34, 1; 36, 1; 43, 1; 44, 1; 45, 9.

which any approach is made to so complete an enumeration of tribes, or to so systematic a mapping out of their territory; and in many cases the locality assigned to a people is confirmed by other authorities, sometimes even by modern local survivals of the name[1]; so that there is no reason on the whole to doubt that the distribution of the country given by him was at the time substantially correct, so far as correctness was possible in a race among whom the prevalent internecine feuds might at times bring a hitherto unknown tribe into prominence, or reduce a once famous name to insignificance or even extinction[2], relegate a frontier nation to the forest recesses of the interior, break up a large people into subdivisions with specific names[3], or otherwise alter the distribution of territory in ways not afterwards traceable. It is thus perhaps hardly matter for surprise that among the comparatively few names given by his predecessors, he omits some that had once been famous[4], or that afterwards became so[5], and that his list of names and arrangement differs much from that given some fifty years later by Ptolemy[6].

The whole vast territory is conceived by him as occupied by a distinct and homogeneous race, whom he supposes to be autochthonous, and free from intermixture of foreign blood[7], consisting of rather more than forty distinct 'nationes' or 'populi'[8], some at least of whom were grouped of old under a few generic names of ancient tradition[9]; the whole race having become known by the one common

[1] See on c. 29, 1; 30, 1; 34, 1; 44, 1.

[2] We have thus an account of the decay of the Cherusci (c. 36) and temporary extinction of the Bructeri (c. 33, 1, and note), also elsewhere of the wanderings and annihilation of the Ampsivarii (A. 13. 54–56).

[3] Thus the Marsi, a specific people in the time of Germanicus, appear to have broken up at the date of this treatise, and are only mentioned as an ancient generic name (c. 2, 4). It is noted that the Chatti and Frisii are perhaps the only tribes which did not change their habitation.

[4] E.g. the Teutons (see on c. 37, 1).

[5] E.g. the Burgodiones (Burgundians) of Pliny (see on c. 2, 3).

[6] It may here be noted that we have in Tacitus the first mention of Angles (c. 40, 1), Swedes (c. 44, 2), and Finns (c. 46, 1). The line drawn between German and non-German is not always clear (see on c. 45, 2; 46, 1), and he knows of none intermediate between Germans and his Sarmatians, and must therefore have included under the latter term, besides Tartars, any other Slavonians than his Venedi.

[7] c. 2, 1; 4, 1. He gives this not only as a tradition but as his own belief ('crediderim').

[8] He also often calls them 'civitates,' his regular word for the Gaulish cantons.

[9] c. 2, 3–4. Tacitus takes no account of these in his subsequent record, but only distinguishes between the Suebi and those Germans who were not such: see on c. 38, 1. He also shows that the Lugii are a generic name (c. 43, 3), and implies that the Suiones, Aestii, and Sitones are also such (c. 44, 2; 45, 2; 9).

name of 'Germani' only at a comparatively recent date [1]. The grounds of his belief in the indigenous origin of the Germans may seem weak, and his view of primitive migration as exclusively maritime is limited, in spite of some contrary evidence that should have occurred to him [2], by Greek or Roman ideas and the traditions of Mediterranean peoples; but it should be noted that the view that the origin of the Aryans is to be sought not in Asia but in Europe [3], and that several races, and among them the Germans, have existed in situ from a very remote prehistoric period, and may have acquired kindred languages by other means than a common origin, has been gaining ground steadily of late years, and is now, to say the least, very strongly supported [4]. But that any race should have preserved itself, as he conceives that the Germans had, free from any admixture of foreign blood, is difficult to suppose, not only by reason of the probability of prehistoric intermingling of races, but also from the constant existence in historic times of a slave population, often of foreign extraction [5], growing up with the free, and often by enfranchisement becoming blended with it.

The whole race are plainly viewed by Tacitus as speaking a common language [6], and as distinguished by it from some other peoples dwelling among them [7]. With this language, we should not suppose that he had any personal acquaintance, nor do his informants appear to have told him whether there were then any linguistic differences answering to that between German and Scandinavian, or between High and Low German [8]. The information obtainable was no doubt limited by the range of commercial intercourse, so that in

[1] The account of this is extremely obscure (see c. 2, 5, and note), but it would certainly appear that the name was originally assumed by a few tribes who had invaded Gaul and was gradually extended. For other cases of local or tribal names becoming national, we may instance that of the Hellenes in early times, the Graeci in the Roman period, and the present French name Allemagne.

[2] E.g. that of the immigration of the Gauls into Italy, as related in Livy, 5. 34-35.

[3] This opinion appears to have been first advanced, or at least first brought into notice, in Dr. Latham's edition of this treatise, in 1851.

[4] For a compendious view of the history and present state of this great question, see Dr. Isaac Taylor's Origin of the Aryans.

[5] There would be, no doubt, among them captives in war from all neighbouring peoples, at one time even many Romans from the army of Varus (A. 12, 27, 4). It is possible, however, that the offspring of such mixed blood may have tended to revert to the prevalent type.

[6] The only persons counted by him as Germans, in spite of a known linguistic difference, are the Aestii (c. 45, 2).

[7] c. 43, 1.

[8] It is thought that the Suebi were distinguished from other Germans by some dialectic differences, but Tacitus only marks them off by a mode of wearing the hair (c. 38, 2).

determining the ethnology of the Venedi and Fenni he has no test of language to apply, and is only able to speak of their mode of life and customs [1].

Another universal characteristic of the Germans on which he lays stress, that of their physical appearance [2], leads to a difficulty of which we should think that he ought himself to have been aware; for the peculiarities on which he insists, the ruddy hair, flashing blue eyes, stalwart limbs, and others, agree equally with all Roman description of the Gauls [3], and it would seem that on this point, as well as in several of their other qualities [4], no clear distinction between the races was noticed by Greeks or Romans, and that it was long before they were marked off at all. To Greeks at an earlier date all the north-west of Europe was peopled by Κελτοί or Γαλάται [5]: nor does Cicero distinguish the nationality of the Teutons and Cimbri from that of those who had once pillaged Rome under Brennus [6]. Caesar, the first to distinguish clearly between Gauls and Germans, rests his distinction not on physique, but on differences of religion and customs [7]; and Strabo, writing about A.D. 10–20, is aware of no stronger physical difference than that the German is an exaggerated Celt [8]. It should be remembered that by the time of Tacitus the Gauls had been so greatly changed and enervated by a century and a half of subjection as to be no longer liable to be confounded in respect of warlike spirit and qualities [9], and perhaps less so than formerly even in physical appearance [10], with the fierce and unchanged Germans.

[1] c. 46, 2–5.

[2] c. 4, 2, and note.

[3] Cp. the terms used by Livy (38. 17, 3): 'procera corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae,' &c.: yet these very characteristics are taken by Tacitus in Agr. 11, 2 to mark off the Caledonii, as Germans, from the rest of the Britons, who are 'Gallis similes.'

[4] On other points in common between Gauls and Germans, see on c. 4, 2–3; 9, 1; 11, 2; 4; 6.

[5] The former term is found as early as Hdt., the latter in Arist. Polyb. &c. The two are distinguished by some writers, as Diod. 5. 30.

[6] 'C Marius . . . influentes in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit' (de prov. cons. 13, 32), see also Sall. Jug. 114, 1.

[7] B. G. 6. 11–28: see also his account of the Suebi (4. 1–3).

[8] 7. 1, 2, 290: Τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου . . . Γερμανοὶ νέμονται, μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττοντες τοῦ Κελτικοῦ φύλου τῷ τε πλεονασμῷ τῆς ἀγριότητος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς ξανθότητος, τἆλλα δὲ παραπλήσιοι καὶ μορφαῖς καὶ ἤθεσι καὶ βίοις ὄντες οἵους εἰρήκαμεν τοὺς Κελτούς. The evidence of anthropology would go to show a considerable difference in form of skull, and therefore in physiognomy, between any Gaulish type and that of the ancient Germans or Scandinavians, of whom the nearest modern representatives are the Swedes (see Taylor, Aryans, pp. 102–109).' But no Roman writer seems to notice this.

[9] See c. 28, 4, and note.

[10] There were apparently three different types of race in Gaul, answering to the distinction between Gallia Belgica, Gallia Celtica, and the Aquitani; but the people of the first, who had overpowered

In the representation of the character and institutions of the people, we have a picture of a race of Aryan speech and institutions at a stage of development on the whole peculiar to itself[1]. The resemblance that will chiefly strike classical students is that to the Greeks of the Homeric age[2]. Like these, they constantly bear arms in daily life[3], they show hospitality to the stranger no less than to friends[4], they reckon value in oxen or other animals[5], they get their wives by a kind of purchase[6], blood vengeance and its atonement by a ποινή are recognized institutions[7], the kings are honoured by quasi-voluntary gifts[8], the submission of great questions, such as war and peace, to a general assembly of the people, after previous discussion by the chiefs[9], reminds us of the Homeric βουλή and ἀγορή[10], and the tumultuous spear-clashing by which approval was indicated[11], is but a variation from the Achaean shout[12].

On the other hand we notice no less striking and instructive differences. In some respects, especially as regards the arts and appliances of life, the Germans are at a far lower stage, as we should expect in a race remote from the Mediterranean, compared with those who had long known Phoenician intercourse. Thus, although they were living in an age not of bronze but iron, metal of all kinds is scarce with Germans, the iron-tipped 'framea' is the only universal weapon, the shield is of mere painted boards, the sword and massy spear and corslet are rare, the helmet in any form almost unknown[13], a great contrast in all points to the Homeric panoplies. Again, even the Homeric ship must have been some stages removed from the northern sail-less boats[14], and a house far less splendid than the

and imposed their language on the second, and driven back the third, are no doubt the typical Gauls.

[1] A few indications are given in this treatise of points of contact with Asiatic Aryans, as the phalanx or 'cuneus' of the host (see on c. 6, 5), the use of horses in augury (c. 10, 4), reckoning by nights instead of days (c. 11, 2), discussion of important matters at feasts (c. 22, 4), the passion for gambling (c. 24, 3); also several others noted in matters of religion (see below, pp. 27–29). The whole subject of the resemblances and differences between Germans and other races indicated by language, archaeology, &c., cannot here be entered into.

[2] Only a few points are here given: a fuller comparison would be suggested by study of Grote, History of Greece, part i. ch. 20, and many other works.

[3] c. 13, 1, &c.

[4] c. 21, 2.

[5] c. 5, 2; 12, 2, &c.

[6] c. 18.

[7] c. 21, 1.

[8] c. 15, 2.

[9] c. 11, 1.

[10] See Il. 2. 50, 53. These have also their counterpart in the Roman senate and comitia.

[11] c. 11, 6.

[12] Cp. ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί, ἐπίαχον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν.

[13] On all these points, see c. 6, 1–3 and notes.

[14] c. 44, 2.

palace of Menelaus[1] would still have had no counterpart in its furniture and adornment among the dwellings of even princely Germans[2].

To set against these, there are points in which the Germans had reached a considerably higher stage. The sense of liberty and personal dignity, by no means prominent in the Homeric δῆμος[3], is here fully developed: the German comes to assemblies as and when he pleases, is unmistakably free to disapprove as well as to approve, and has rather to be persuaded than coerced[4], and the king is hardly more prominent in it than others whose position or achievements entitle them to be heard.

On the German king we would gladly have heard more from Tacitus[5]. We gather that he was chosen, but only from the noblest lineage[6], the 'stirps regia[7],' generally represented as of divine descent, in the full sense διογενής. But, however approaching to a despotic monarch in the most remote and backward tribes[8], he has elsewhere more dignity than power. It is even doubtful whether he is necessarily the leader in war[9], and certainly the supreme coercive authority both in the field and in the assembly belongs not to him but to the priest[10]. He has a faint survival of primitive priestly function in augury[11], he has a share of fines[12], and probably of other presents[13], but does not appoint judges or magistrates[14], and generally reigns rather than governs; while any such royalty as that of Maroboduus, embracing many tribes, and almost confronting the Caesar as an equal, was most abnormal and obnoxious to the sentiment of independence[15]. Again, even such limited kingly rule, though prevalent among the Suebic Germans[16], is represented as generally dispensed with among the western and more advanced tribes[17], and replaced by the rule of an elected magistrate[18], or probably in more cases by no other central

[1] See Hom. Od. 4, 71, foll. &c.

[2] c. 16, 2–4.

[3] See Grote, l. c. p. 98.

[4] c. 11, 3–6. The function of the priest in maintaining order suggests that the 'concilium' had the character of a religious gathering.

[5] On the whole subject, see Kemble, i. ch. vi; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. p. 28, foll.; 72, foll.; 150, foll.; Freeman, Norman Conquest, i. notes K. L.

[6] c. 7, 1.

[7] A. 11. 16, 1.

[8] See the gradations noted in c. 44, 1; 3; 45, 9.

[9] See note on c. 7, 1.

[10] c. 7, 2; 11, 4.

[11] c. 10, 4.

[12] c. 12, 2.

[13] See on c. 15, 2.

[14] c. 12, 3.

[15] A. 2. 44, 3. Even Arminius was assassinated for aspiring to be king (A. 2. 88, 3).

[16] See c. 42, 2; 44, 1; 3; 45, 9; A. 12. 29–30.

[17] Thus the Chatti are described as under 'principes' (A. 2. 7, 2; 88, 1; 11. 16, 2). The Cherusci had no king in the time of Arminius, but took one afterwards (A. 11. 16, 1). On the other hand we have Frisian kings (A. 13. 54, 2).

[18] Tacitus, whether rightly or wrongly, seems to speak of such a chief magistrate: see note on c. 10, 4.

authority in peace than that of the 'concilium.' There is full evidence that at an earlier as well as at a much later date many tribes were thus governed[1], and that the subsequent prevalence of kingly rule is not due so much to a sentiment deeply implanted in the German mind[2] as to other causes, partly to the prominence of tribes belonging of old to the Suebic or monarchical stems[3], partly to the consolidation of separate tribes, and to the courses of movement and conquest which tended to make a stronger central rule more needful[4], and led not only to kingly government but to a very different type of it from that here described, as military and victorious kings were able to gather more into their hands, to surround themselves with a constantly increasing 'comitatus' (see below, p. 25), and to become more and more lords of the soil instead of being only leaders of the people.

As regards the other ranks of German society, we find much of what is more fully known to us at a later date already in existence. We have the distinction between the mass of freemen ('ingenui') and the 'nobiles[5],' answering to the English 'ceorl' and 'eorl,' or to the yeoman and the knight or esquire[6]. Both classes in some sense and degree are landowners, and have the right of voting in assembly[7]. The ground of nobility is not indicated, but can hardly have been any other than that of supposed descent from divine or heroic ancestors. It is, however, thought that nobility, though a *sine qua*

[1] Caesar says of the Germans generally (6. 23, 4), 'cum bellum civitas aut inlatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt.' He however gives the title 'rex Germanorum' to Ariovistus (1. 31, 10), whose position, as a leader of many nations, must have resembled that of Maroboduus. So also Hengist and Horsa, and the leaders of the first conquest of Wessex, have no other titles than those of 'Ealdorman' or 'Heretoga'; and Bede's account of the Saxons (H. E. v. 10) is in accordance with Caesar: 'non enim habent regem . . . sed satrapas plurimos suae genti praepositos, qui ingruente belli articulo mittunt aequaliter sortes, et quemcunque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur . . . peracto autem bello rursum aequalis potentiae omnes fiunt satrapae.' The 'satrapae' are the 'principes.'

[2] This was Kemble's view (p. 137).

[3] As the Goths and Lombards: yet even these had not always kings (see Freeman, note K. p. 589).

[4] Thus the English conquerors of Britain, though not at first governed by kings, soon became so.

[5] These are clearly distinguished in c. 25, 3; 44, 4. The 'plebs' of c. 11, 1; 12, 3, would appear to include both these classes, as distinct from 'principes.' The 'proceres' distinguished from 'plebs' in c. 10, 5, appear more equivalent to 'nobiles' (cp. c. 46, 1), but the term is interchanged with 'principes' in A. 1. 55, 3. 'Primores' (used only in Hist. and Ann.) mean probably 'principes.'

[6] See Kemble, ch. v; Freeman, Norman Conquest, i. p. 80, foll.

[7] c. 10. 1.

non in the choice of a king, conferred otherwise no political privilege[1], and that no other rulers of the people were necessarily chosen from its ranks. Such rulers or magistrates are designated as 'principes,' and are described as chosen by the 'concilium' of the state to preside judicially in its local subdivisions[2] (see below, p. 23). They are probably the same who collectively form an inner council or senate[3], to decide lesser matters and to hold previous debate on greater, before their submission to the general body; and who delegate one of their number to the supreme command in war[4]. They are probably, again, the same who are spoken of as partly supported by quasi-voluntary gifts[5], and as having the important privilege of keeping up and leading to battle a train of 'comites' (see below, p. 25). In this description, as far as it goes, we clearly recognize the person known later as 'heretoga,' 'herzog,' or 'duke' in war, and as 'ealdorman' or 'graf' in peace[6]; however wide the gulf that separates the freely-chosen magistrates of a democracy from those who in later times are chosen by the king, are hereditary, and often take the title of the 'Earl' or 'Jarl[7].'

Below the plebs of 'ingenui' are the unfree[8], respecting whom Tacitus seems to be betrayed into inaccuracy in his anxiety to point a contrast to Rome. Domestic slaves may probably not have been numerous, so that he ignores them altogether where we should most expect him to mention them[9], and describes to us only an extremely mitigated form of bondage on the land, or serfdom, which he compares to the condition of a Roman 'colonus[10],' representing the bondsman as living in his own house on his allotted parcel of land, subject only

[1] See Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. pp. 22, 30. It would seem, however, that the 'nobiles' had larger shares of land (cp. 'secundum dignationem partiuntur,' c. 26, 1), and that the 'principes' as a fact were usually, if not always, of noble birth. Also the noble's 'wergild' (see on c. 21, 1) was higher than a simple freeman's (Kemble, 278).

[2] It seems best to assume that this term, when used in the plural, uniformly designates these persons in this treatise. It is, however, taken by some, in some places, to be only equivalent to 'proceres,' or the more eminent of the 'nobiles.'

[3] c. 11, 1. This function, very slightly touched, is very important in history; this senate being apparently the origin of the 'witan gemot' as distinct from the 'folkmoot' (Bp. Stubbs, p. 133, foll.), and through it, of the English House of Peers.

[4] See above, p. 20, note 1.

[5] c. 15, 2.

[6] See Bp. Stubbs, p. 126.

[7] Ibid. p. 177.

[8] On these generally, see Kemble, ch. viii; Bp. Stubbs, p. 84.

[9] See c. 25, 1, and notes.

[10] This comparison would in any sense (see note) make him free, except that he could not change his land or his lord: but the latter part of the chapter materially qualifies this view, showing that the master had the usual despotic powers, though he did not often exercise them.

to a rent in kind[1]. Other slaves, reduced to servitude by their own reckless gambling, are described as not kept, but sold abroad[2]. Freedmen also constitute a distinct class, of whom he only tells us that, while insignificant elsewhere, and little above the slave, they became extremely influential under kings[3]. It must be assumed that they at least resembled the bondsman in exclusion from the franchise, and had no independent status apart from their lord or patron. Another intermediate class, of whom Tacitus tells us nothing, would be the 'ingenui' who had no land, and had to work as free labourers for hire, or in some other way to accept a position of clientship[4].

It is much to be regretted that we are not told more of the local and tribal government which was even at that date established in the Germanic race. It was no doubt the case that government of any kind in Germany had to struggle against a far stronger sentiment of individual independence than in Gaul: it is clear, however, that the scattered homesteads, described as built by each as and where he would, are in some sense 'vici' or parts of such[5]. Probably the military organization preceded the civil[6], the families or clans marshalled together in the host[7] received their allotments of land together[8], or a 'Dorf' of dependants grew up round the 'Hof' of a leader[9]. Any identity in blood between the members of villages would naturally be shortlived, and the tie would become political only, as in its counterpart, the English 'township[10].' The most important feature in the German 'vicus' at this date is that the free village community was possessor of the land[11], apportioning it in some way among occupiers, and that it had a court[12] or council of its own, which must have been competent to settle disputes on these or other local matters.

[1] It is suggested (Bp. Stubbs, p. 24) that those in this condition may often have been the former free occupiers, dispossessed by a conquering tribe, and having no tribal rights.

[2] c. 24, 4. On other means by which freemen might be reduced to slavery, see note on c. 25, 1.

[3] c. 25, 3.

[4] See Bp. Stubbs, p. 85. We have mention of large bodies of 'clientes,' such as those of Segestes (A. 1. 57, 4), or those of Inguiomerus, forming an important addition to an army (A. 2. 45, 2). Though not properly 'comites,' or 'gesiths,' they would form the lower ranks of the 'comitatus' (see below, p. 26). Cp. the similar train of a Gallic knight (Caes. 6. 15, 2).

[5] c. 16, 1, and note.

[6] See Bp. Stubbs, p. 33.

[7] c. 7, 3.

[8] So Caesar says (6. 22, 2), 'magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierint, quantum, et quo loco visum est, agri adtribuunt.' SS. gives a later instance, and notes the use of 'fara' both of a clan and a village.

[9] See on c. 25, 1.

[10] Bp. Stubbs, p. 88. The township generally coincides with the later parish, often with the manor.

[11] On the difficulties of this question, see below, p. 32, also c. 26, 1, and notes.

[12] The courts of 'vici' and 'pagi' are

It is only in a few sentences that we learn anything of the aggregate of 'vici' forming the 'pagus [1],' represented to us as also a judicial centre, and as furnishing its hundred jurors to the court [2], and its hundred picked warriors to the host [3]. It is most commonly identified with the German 'Gau' or English 'shire [4],' but, if so, apparently with earlier and smaller divisions under such names than those which are historically best known to us [5]. There is much probability in the view that the 'pagus' was really the 'hundred [6],' known to us later as the chief centre of judicial administration whether criminal or civil under its presiding 'ealdorman' and jurors [7]. The 'hundred,' as well as the village, was probably at first an aggregate of persons or families rather than of territorial districts [8], and had lost its numerical significance before we have authentic record of it [9].

We have no mention of any division at that time answering to the province, or to the English shire as later understood [10]; the only gathering above the 'pagus' being the great 'concilium' of the 'civitas,' the 'allthing' or 'folkmoot,' at which all magistrates were elected, the youth of the nation were solemnly invested with arms [11], and great issues, such as those of war and peace, or grave criminal charges involving the penalty of death, or whatever religious or other

mentioned together (c. 12,3): the 'centeni comites' would appear to belong to the latter only, but probably the former also had jurors. In the court or 'concilium' of the 'vicus' is seen the origin of the manorial court, possibly also of the parish vestry.

[1] The application of this term is probably borrowed from Caesar, who uses it both of Gauls and Germans. With the former it seems to be a larger subdivision than with the latter, as the Gallic Helvetii had but four 'pagi' (1. 12, 4), whereas Caesar's Suebi, who answer in this respect to the Semnones of Tacitus (c. 39, 4), had one hundred. 'Vici' and 'pagi' are coupled in c. 12, 3; A. 1. 56, 5; and the latter are also mentioned in c. 6, 6; H. 4. 15, 6, 26, 4.

[2] c. 12, 3.

[3] c. 6, 5. Caesar (4. 1, 4) says that each 'pagus' of the Suebi sent one thousand men to the host, whose places were taken by a similar number in the following year.

[4] See Kemble, ch. iii.

[5] The 'Gaue' of Germany are given in Spruner-Menke's Hand-Atlas, maps 31–36, and are larger divisions than such as seem presupposed in c. 39, 4. The word 'shire' means originally a division or share, and there is evidence that the present hundreds in Cornwall were once called shires, and names of other smaller shires are traced in Yorkshire, &c. (see Bp. Stubbs, pp. 111, 112, 122). Smaller subdivisions would tend to coalesce into larger as the kingdoms or states became themselves enlarged.

[6] This view is taken by Waitz (Deutsche Verfassungs-Geschichte), whom Bp. Stubbs has followed.

[7] c. 12. 3. On the 'hundreds' generally, see Kemble, ch. ix; Bp. Stubbs, pp. 103, foll.

[8] Bp. Stubbs, pp. 33, 76.

[9] Ibid. p. 77. The English 'hundreds' are far smaller subdivisions at the time of Domesday than at present (p. 122).

[10] Bp. Stubbs, pp. 125, foll. The 'folkmoot,' as distinct from the witan (see above, p. 21, note 3), becomes later its 'concilium' (ibid. p. 134).

[11] c. 13, 1.

questions affected the tribe as a whole must have found their decision[1]. This supreme council is the nation in arms[2], and in it the sovereign power is vested.

The German spirit of isolation asserts itself against the concentration that might have been expected to follow from these gatherings so far that neither the 'caput pagi' nor 'caput gentis' attained to any urban character[3], or approached the flourishing towns of the Gauls. The chief apparent exception, the 'Colonia Agrippinensis,' was a Roman town on German soil, hateful in form and character to all German sentiment[4].

Also we search in vain for any principle of union between the 'civitates' as such, except so far as it is found in common gatherings for religious rites[5], and in occasional short-lived alliances against a common enemy[6].

The picture of domestic life is that of a people with whom peace was regarded as but an interlude in war, a time of lethargy varied occasionally or locally by the chace[7], and by such agriculture alone as sufficed to extort from the land the necessary corn crop[8]. They gather for banquets and carousals, at which often the gravest matters are discussed[9], the one public spectacle is the spear dance[10], the chief passion of life is dicing, pursued even to the stake of personal freedom[11]. In childhood the son of the house differs little from the son of the slave; all sit half clad round the fire together and divide

[1] See c. 11–12. The feasts at which preliminary discussion took place (see below) may be considered part of the 'concilium' (see on c. 22, 3).

[2] In this it would resemble the Roman comitia centuriata, but there is no record of these having ever actually met in arms.

[3] c. 16, 1. The term 'oppidum' is indeed used (A. 1. 36, 18; H. 3. 19, 2), as is πόλις by Ptolemy, who enumerates some ninety such in Germany, yet the 'caput gentis' (A. 1. 56, 6), must be regarded as but a larger village. The 'Burg,' as Asciburgium (c. 3, 3), is a kind of 'castellum,' and we hear of only the 'castellum' and 'regia' of Maroboduus (A. 2. 62, 3). Bp. Stubbs notes (p. 34) that even the later German towns are based on the village rather than the classical type.

[4] c. 28, 5; H. 4. 64.

[5] Such would be the worships which formed the bond of union of those grouped as Ingaevones, Istaevones, and Herminones (see c. 2, 3 and note), two of which are perhaps those described in c. 39, 2; 40, 2 (see note). We seem also to find a common worship of the Lugian (c. 43, 4) and Aestian (c. 45, 3) groups. Sohm's generalization, that the unity of the 'Stamm' or race is religious only, that of the 'Volk' or 'civitas' political, and that of the 'Hundertschaft' or 'pagus' judicial, seems at least mainly true, though Bp. Stubbs points out (p. 39) that some qualifications are needed.

[6] As those under Arminius and Maroboduus.

[7] c. 15, 1.

[8] c. 26, 2: most of this was delegated to the old and weak (c. 15, 1), also, as we may suppose, to the forced labour of the bondsmen (see above, p. 21; and note on c. 25, 1).

[9] c. 22, 2–4.

[10] c. 24. 1.

[11] c. 24, 3–4.

the work of the house among them [1], till the time comes when 'valour chooses her own,' and the solemn investiture with arms as it were emancipates the youth from paternal rule and dedicates him to the service of the State [2]. Henceforth war becomes the freeman's chief and proper work; but even in war the family and local bond still asserts itself. Each 'pagus' furnishes a company of the select foot whose agility keeps pace with the mounted warriors in the van [3], while these horsemen themselves and the whole wedge-like phalanx of the mass behind are grouped by families and clansmen standing shoulder to shoulder [4]: and even their women accompany the warriors to the field, not only to tend and heal, but to inspire the brave and upbraid the yielding [5].

In connexion with their warfare stood another institution [6], noticed by Tacitus as already in full force [7], and destined afterwards to affect the framework not only of German but of European society, the enrolment of young men in the 'comitatus' of a chief or 'princeps.' The privilege of keeping such a body may be supposed to have extended to all who bore this title [8], but in practice it must manifestly have belonged to those only whose wealth and possessions gave them the means of supporting it, and most of all to the king or leader of the state [9], who certainly could alone give a public status to his followers, while enrolment in its ranks, besides being sought for by many as an honour, must have become the natural refuge of the needy of all ranks and stations [10]. We have thus already the germ of a state within a state, and the growth of a body of vassals wholly dependent on their lord [11], living at his table, armed and enriched by

[1] c. 17, 1; 20, 1-2; 25, 1.
[2] c. 20, 2; 13, 1. [3] c. 6, 4.
[4] c. 6, 5; 7, 3.
[5] c. 7, 4; 8, 1.
[6] On the whole subject, see Kemble, i. ch. vii.
[7] Caesar seems to know of an institution resembling it but temporary rather than permanent (6. 23, 7-8). The examples of Segestes and Inguiomerus (see p. 22, note 4) attest its existence in the time of Tiberius. Among Gauls it is traceable at a considerably earlier date (Polyb. 2. 17, 12).
[8] 'Princeps' is generally singular in c. 13-14, and is generally correlative to 'comites,' but it seems best to take it as explained by 'principum aliquis' in c. 13, 1, and 'principes' in c. 12, 3.
[9] It is thought by some that this right belonged exclusively to him (see Bp. Stubbs, p. 25). It is at any rate obvious that the 'comes,' especially the 'thegn' (see below) of the king would be very different from that of a mere 'ealdorman,' with whom such relation would be merely one of service, differing only in degree from the free servants of even a 'ceorl.'
[10] Increase of population with established divisions of property would force many to seek such service (Kemble).
[11] It has been thought that to be a 'comes' involved even a sacrifice of freedom, and it is probable that it did involve some diminution of full civic rights, which may be alluded to in 'nec rubor' (c. 13, 2).

his bounty[1], taking rank by his preference[2], and bound by the most sacred ties of brotherhood to his service[3], despising industry[4], and ready to lend their arms to other states if their own be unwarlike[5]. The relation of this military organization at this date to that of the freemen grouped by families and clans[6] is in no way indicated by Tacitus. We may suppose that it was at first supplemental to it; that the 'principes' with their 'gesiths,' like the horse and select foot in the van[7], fought apart from each other and from the mass, and that the 'comitatus' was designed to open a military career to those who from youth, poverty, or other cause, were unable to fight at their own cost in the tribal phalanx. But it is easy to see that it was destined to encroach upon and displace the popular gathering, to supersede the patriotic by the personal bond of allegiance, and to bring with it a new development of royalty or princehood, as the supreme lord became more and more aggrandized in land or other possessions[8], and was able to maintain a larger and larger body of retainers, on whose service he could always count[9], whom he could lead after him when and where he would[10], who made his cause their own[11], and sunk the fame of their achievements in his[12], the principal of whom, besides the rewards of booty[13], derived a patent of nobility from the offices filled by them in his household[14], and gradually supplanted the old high-born 'eorls,' as the 'nobiles' at Rome had

[1] c. 14, 4. [2] c. 13, 3.
[3] c. 14, 1. [4] c. 14, 5.
[5] c. 14, 3. [6] c. 7, 3. [7] c. 6, 4.

[8] This would take place by the rise of larger kingdoms out of smaller, also by regal appropriation of waste lands, border lands, forfeited lands, &c., by the growth of voluntary gifts (c. 15, 2), fines (c. 12, 2), &c., and by the way in which those who had a large 'comitatus' were courted and even bought as allies by other tribes than their own (c. 13, 4).

[9] On the other hand, the national or tribal force could only be called out to war with consent of the 'concilium.'

[10] We have an instance as early as A. D. 17: the Cherusci, under their national leader Arminius, are at war with Maroboduus, but their prince Inguiomerus, on what are alleged to be mere grounds of personal pique, joins the enemy and carries all his 'clientes' with him (A. 2. 45, 2).

[11] Cp. 'principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe' (c. 14, 2).

[12] Cp. 'sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare' (l. c.).

[13] 'Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus' (c. 14, 4).

[14] We have a clear picture of this in English History; not only freedmen (see note on c. 25, 3), but even men of high birth held offices in the king's household, which in the time of Tacitus would have been considered menial, or at least beneath a 'civis ingenuus,' at Rome; and such offices not only made them influential (as were Caesar's freedmen), but noble; the term 'Thegn' or 'Thane,' originally denoting service, becoming, in the king's retinue, a designation of rank; and any 'ceorl,' though he could not become an 'eorl,' could become a 'Thane,' as a plebeian family, without becoming patrician, became 'nobilis' at Rome. On the whole subject, see Kemble, ch. vii; Bp. Stubbs, pp. 166–170; Freeman, Growth of Eng. Const. pp. 40-51.

taken the place of the old patriciate, while the rank and file of the 'clientela' tended to absorb into itself the body of 'ceorls' or freemen.

On the great subject of German religion and mythology little can here be said except by way of explanation and criticism of Tacitus, who, though much in advance of Caesar [1], is yet meagre, and not easy to reconcile with himself. German gods are known to him through an 'interpretatio Romana [2],' ready made to his hands, and without any grounds of identification stated to us, as Mercurius, Hercules, Mars, Isis, Terra Mater, Mater deûm, Castor and Pollux [3], nor are we told clearly whether Hercules is god or hero, whether the great goddess is one or three, on what ground the three gods named together are selected for prominence, whether either of them is the 'parent of the race,' the 'ruler of all things [4],' whether the same was everywhere supreme.

Sufficient resemblance is found in Celtic [5] and German mythology to point to a common origin, and in the supreme god of both races the Romans recognize a 'Mercurius [6].' Among the Germans this must clearly be Wuodan, a god really of most complex and ubiquitous attributes, with analogies both to the Varuna [7] and to the Indra [8] of the Vedas, and to other primitive conceptions of an elemental deity, but no doubt more vividly present to Germans probably as the creator of their race, certainly as ancestor of their kings [9], and as the god and hero of their advancement [10], both as a genius of war and father of victories and wielder of the magic spear [11], and also as the culture god, the instructor in learning and arts, the traveller, the magician, and thus their Hermes, and no less their Prometheus, Ulysses, Orpheus, Jason, probably (as shown below) their Heracles [12]. His supremacy, if of universal recognition, may not have been so from all time, but

[1] See on c. 9, 1. [2] c. 43, 4.

[3] These last and Terra mater are the only deities for whom any German equivalent names are given (see c. 40, 2; 43, 4), except the mysterious Tuisto and Mannus of c. 2, 3.

[4] On all these points, see references below.

[5] See Rhys, Hibbert Lectures for 1886. Caesar (6. 17) gives the Gallic Gods under their Roman interpretation as Mercurius, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, Minerva. Lucan (1.444-447) gives three Celtic names without attempt at identification, Teutates, Hesus, and Taranis.

[6] See c. 9, 1, and note; and on the whole subject, Grimm, Mythol. E T. i. 120, foll.; Kemble, ch. xii.; Rhys, l.c.

[7] He is conceived in some myths as Heaven, having Earth (see on c. 40, 2) as his spouse, and the sun is either imaged as his eye, or as his offspring Balder. See Taylor, Origin of the Aryans, 308; Rhys, l. c. 426, 529, foll., 542.

[8] See Rhys, 203, foll.

[9] See note on c. 2, 3; 7, 1.

[10] Rhys, 284.

[11] On the conception of him as the hero-god, see Carlyle, Heroes, sect. 1.

[12] On all these points see Rhys, 283–292, also on Ulysses c. 3, 3, on Hercules c. 3, 1; 34, 2, and notes.

may have been at some time contested by Donar or Thor[1], an elemental thunder-god, as much less than Zeus as Wuodan is more than Hermes, or by Tiu or Ziu[2], who, however he may have been conceived originally, is known later specially as the war-god, even in this capacity not more such than Wuodan, and retaining little or nothing of Zeus but the bare name. Another competitor for supremacy may have been Freyr, the god of fertility, who seems to have been the chief object of worship with one section of Germans[3], but of whom Tacitus knows nothing. From the ways in which these conceptions of deities cross each other, and from the passages in Tacitus where a single divine ancestor of the race[4] and ruler of all things[5] is spoken of, we seem to recognize a general and perhaps undefined idea of divinity passing into a mythology adapting itself to the prevalent worships of different divisions of the race[6], and tending to centre in the supreme god of a dominant section. In some similar fashion the mysterious goddesses mentioned in three different places[7] may all be brought into harmony with each other and with the theology as a whole by being regarded as various local forms of the worship of Earth[8], who, besides such attributes as elsewhere attached to her, was with Germans the special parent of their ancestral god[9].

The true German Heracles or Hercules, whose exploits formed the theme of their battle songs[10], in whose sacred grove Arminius gathered his forces for a decisive battle[11], and a legend of whose pillars seemed to some to point to his wanderings to the remotest ocean[12], is generally supposed to be found in the hero Irmin, whose personality, however, partakes of the prevalent confusion, whose name appears sometimes

[1] If this god is known at all to Tacitus, it is as the Hercules of c. 9, 1, with whom he has little in common except that he is a doer of heroic deeds and the wielder of a hammer or mace somewhat resembling a club. Kemble appears to think it probable that he was at one time the supreme god in the north, but this must be doubtful.

[2] On this god see notes on c. 9, 1; 39, 4. He was apparently the ancestral and supreme god of the Herminones (see on c. 2, 3): the Tencteri are made in H. 4. 64, 2, to speak of Mars as 'praecipuus Deorum,' and Mars is named, perhaps intentionally, before Mercurius in speaking of the Hermunduri and Chatti in A. 13. 57, 3.

[3] He is taken to be the parent god of the Ingaevones: see on c. 2, 3.

[4] c. 2, 3.

[5] c. 39, 4.

[6] See note on c. 2, 3.

[7] See c. 9, 2; 40, 2; 45, 3, and notes. In one case only a German name is given, read generally as 'Nerthus.'

[8] To a Roman, the worships of Isis, of Tellus, of Demeter (Ceres), and of the 'mater deûm' were very distinct as regards their source, date of introduction, and mode of celebration: but this is no argument for distinguishing German goddesses severally, and apparently on somewhat fanciful grounds, identified with them.

[9] c. 2, 3.

[10] c. 3, 1.

[11] A. 2. 12, 1.

[12] c. 34, 2.

as a mere prefix of greatness [1], at others as a cognomen of Tiu [2], and who has been thought with great probability to be no more than Wuodan conceived as a warrior [3].

We perhaps find some form of a widespread Aryan worship in their Castor and Pollux [4], and another familiar idea in the 'persuasio' of the sungod's chariot [5]; there are one or two more deities whom neither Romans nor moderns have identified [6], and here our knowledge, so far as it can be based on Tacitus, ends [7], except for an important statement regarding all, namely, that none had temples or any other places of worship than the gloom of hallowed groves, and that none were ever represented under any visible image, but all only worshipped as spiritual beings and as discerned by faith [8], a statement at variance certainly with all later information, and hard to reconcile with their strongly anthropomorphic mythology, but so far in accordance with other parallel evidence [9] as to appear worthy of belief, when due allowance is made for rhetorical colouring.

On the subject of priests and sacrifices Tacitus is again in advance of Caesar, who was perhaps influenced by the contrast of the Gauls [10]. The Germans had clearly no such hierarchy as the Druids; the priest is but the minister of the gods [11], and only reads the signs, as the 'pater familiae' also does [12]; yet besides his functions in worship, the religious relations of civil life give him a position distinct from and

[1] See note on c. 34, 2.

[2] See on c. 2, 3.

[3] See Grimm, Mythol. E. T. i. 352.

[4] c. 43, 4, and note.

[5] c. 45, 1, and note.

[6] As 'Tamfana' (A. 1. 51, 2), and 'Baduhenna' (A. 4. 73, 7). The former is thought by Muellenhoff to have been Frigg, and to have been worshipped with Wuodan by the Istaevones. There is also evidence of the cultus of Nymphs, perhaps the Valkyries, in the name Idisiaviso (A. 2. 16, 1).

[7] It should be noted here that the whole system as known to Tacitus is simple in the extreme as compared with the theogony of gods and their wives, and gods sprung from gods, and all the complex mythology known to us from other evidence. With him, earth by herself is the primaeval parent, and her offspring, a deity of both sexes, is sole progenitor of the eponymi of the principal subdivisions of the race (c. 2, 3); nor are any of his other gods represented as in any way mutually related, except the brothers of c. 43, 5.

[8] See c. 9, 3, and note.

[9] Herodotus describes the early Persians (1. 131) as *ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι . . . ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεούς*. It is also noted that the Scandinavians had originally no images of their gods, and that the Greeks probably first got theirs from the Phoenicians. Fetishes of some kind, such as meteoric stones, were probably in use much earlier, and the 'numen' of c. 40, 5, may well have been such.

[10] See notes on c. 7, 2; 9, 1.

[11] c. 10, 5.

[12] The 'sacerdos civitatis' answers in the tribe to the 'pater familiae' in the household (c. 10, 2). Special priests of particular gods are mentioned in c. 40, 2; 43, 4. On the whole subject of the German priesthood, see Grimm, Mythol. E. T. ch. v.

in some respects above the king. To him belongs, as a sacred duty, the maintenance of order in the assemblies, and the coercion of a Thersites [1], to him alone the infliction of capital or other punishment, as executing the sentence of a god for a breach of religion, on those guilty of misconduct in war [2]. Their ritual bears the marks of great antiquity; human sacrifice finding place in it at stated times in peace [3], and as a kind of sanctified massacre in war [4]; while their most characteristic mode of divination recalls that of the ancient Persians [5]. Side by side with the regular modes of divination is the inspiration of the prophetess [6], who singles herself out among her countrywomen [7], especially, as it would seem, at the gravest crises, and sends out her oracles and injunctions from her secluded sanctuary [8].

The principal remaining traits of the description are from a Roman point of view, and intended to point a pungent contrast. The reader is to admire the great free people who limit the power of ruler and magistrate [9], who do not deify mortals [10], bury their dead without pomp [11], have never heard of usury [12], care no more for silver plate than for earthenware [13], and leave amber unheeded on the shore [14], who have no hireling gladiators to amuse them, but only the spear-dance of the free [15], among whom the dowered wife, and all her intrigues, her love-letters, her corruption by licentious plays and feasts, find no place [16], where the marriage tie is indissoluble, and unchastity, if not wholly unknown, rare and terribly avenged [17], where infants are neither exposed to die nor neglected and left to foster-nurses [18], but reared up to a youth of hardihood, usefulness, and purity [19], where there is no gang of domestics with multifarious functions, but the slave has generally a household of his own, nor lives in constant fear of stripes and death [20], where the childless old man wields no social tyranny, and is surrounded by no cloud of legacy-hunters [21].

[1] c. 11, 4.

[2] c. 7, 2: one of the old words for 'priest' is 'ewarto' ('legum custos') which may probably refer to these coercive and penal powers. His most general name is 'gudja' ('godserving'); he is also named 'harugari' and 'parawari' from names for sacred groves (Grimm).

[3] c. 9, 1: 39, 2; 40, 5. It was also used for divination (Strab. 7. 2, 3, 294).

[4] See A. 1. 61, 5; and the account of the wholesale slaughter to Mars and Mercurius in A. 13. 57, 3.

[5] See on c. 10, 3.

[6] c. 8, 2–3.

[7] Some gift of this kind is ascribed to women generally (see l. c. and note).

[8] See the account of Velaeda in her tower (H. 4. 65, 5).

[9] c. 7, 1. [10] c. 8, 3. [11] c. 27, 1.

[12] c. 26, 1. [13] c. 5, 4. [14] c. 45, 5.

[15] c. 24, 1–2. [16] c. 18, 1; 19, 1.

[17] c. 19, 1–2. [18] c. 19, 5; 20, 1.

[19] c. 20, 1–3. [20] c. 25, 1–2. [21] c. 20, 5.

The picture is not indeed wholly without its other side, when the candour of the historian asserts itself against the desire to idealize. It is admitted that their independence is even excessive [1], that they are torn to pieces by internal feuds [2], impulsive and unsteady in battle [3], indolent and quarrelsome in peace [4], predatory [5], drunken [6], absorbed by the passion for gambling [7]; in fact that their finer qualities are by no means without the vices which in a low state of civilization are apt to go with them.

In attempting to gather the description of the country and its people into generalizations, we are often baffled by difficulties probably due to unexplained diversity. The discrepancies between Cæsar and Tacitus, or those between Tacitus and himself, or between either of them and the earliest later knowledge, may often arise from the different stages of civilization of different tribes, and from the attempt to disguise variations under a condensed general statement. Sometimes distinctions are drawn, but they may have been oftener omitted where they exist. We are told, for instance, that royalty had its grades, from the most despotic to the most limited [8]; it was perhaps no less true that there were free states with and without permanent chief magistrates [9]. Wandering life, sustained by flocks and herds, would hardly have given way everywhere to settled dwellings and agriculture in the 150 years between Cæsar and Tacitus if it had not been already partial and on the wane at the time of the former [10]; hunting, though it may have declined, could hardly at the earlier date have been a general pursuit, except among a certain class and in favourable districts [11]; in religion, Cæsar may have given us the lowest and most popular, Tacitus the more advanced conception of divinity [12].

It is perhaps for the same reason that our descriptions often give us traces of an institution complicated or crossed by something different [13]. Patriarchal government has still its survivals [14], and the family tie is still of extreme importance [15]; even the more primitive

[1] c. 11, 3; 21, 1.
[2] c. 33, 2; 36, 1, &c.
[3] c. 4, 2; cp. A. 2. 14, 5.
[4] c. 15, 1; 22, 2.
[5] c. 14, 5.
[6] c. 22, 2; 23, 2.
[7] c. 24, 3.
[8] See above, p. 19.
[9] See above, l. c.
[10] Caes. 6. 22, 1; c. 26, 1, &c. Cp. the explanation given of the name of the Suebi (c. 38, 1).
[11] See c. 15, 1, and notes.
[12] See c. 9, 1, and notes. Tacitus may also have brought together worships belonging to different subdivisions (see p. 27, foll.).
[13] See the general review given by Bp. Stubbs, pp. 34–39.
[14] Cp. c. 10, 2. The youth is apparently emancipated when invested with arms: see above, p. 25.
[15] This is seen in the host (c. 7, 3),

so-called matriarchal system is not untraceable[1], but the state of society as a whole has far outgrown them. The mixed idea given us of the host in battle, with its picked national troops, its 'cuneus' of free families, its groups of 'comites' attendant on the 'principes[2],' suggests again a possibility that one form of this organization may have been prominent with some and another with others[3]. Most of all may this be true of their village life and land system. The possession of lands by village communities in some form is far too widespread and manifold to be a characteristic of any people[4], and often seems to adapt itself to some preexistent institutions, or to survive in some ways or reassert itself where it has been more or less departed from, or otherwise to take different forms. It is at least clear in Germany that we have the village as a subdivision of the 'pagus,' and that it regulated in some way the occupation of the land comprised in it[5]. The chief description that we have might in most points approach to a description of a free village under the 'Mark' system[6]. Yet it would be bold to say that permanent individual possession of land finds no place in the statement[7], or that there might not have been cases in which the whole village was a cluster of dependents on a common lord[8], or that other intermediate forms of tenure may not have been in existence. Great movements, such as those which launched the Teutonic tribes against the decaying Roman empire, would lead naturally to great changes in these matters[9], and it is more remarkable that so much of the account given in this treatise should be recognizable than that so much should have passed away.

The armed assembly of the free people which Tacitus describes so graphically may still be seen in some cantons of Switzerland[10], and

the land (see above, p. 22), the marriage ceremonies (c. 18, 1), the punishment of adultery (c. 19, 2), succession (c. 20, 5), blood feud (c. 21, 1).

[1] See note on c. 20, 4.

[2] See above, p. 26.

[3] The organization of the Chatti is noticed as different in some respects from other Germans (c. 30, 2). See also the description of the influence of the Roman wars on German tactics (A. 2. 45, 3).

[4] See G. L. Gomme, Village Communities, ch. i.

[5] See above, p. 22.

[6] See notes on c. 26, 1.

[7] The homesteads round the houses at least must have been such, and their 'spatia' may have been considerable. Also the meaning of 'partiuntur' is doubtful (see note).

[8] See note on c. 25, 1, where it is shown that some think this the prevalent type of German village.

[9] The conquest of territory would enable a king or prince to reward his 'comites' by gifts of land subject to such obligations as would amount to a beginning of feudalism.

[10] See Professor Freeman's account of

other features of his description lingered long: his terminology also is often adopted by later writers as answering to distinctions known to them[1]. It is true, on the other hand, that criticism has laid bare many errors and defects, of which some have been already dwelt upon, and others will be pointed out in the notes. In most of them the blame may fairly be laid on defective means of knowledge, while in others information already in existence may have been carelessly and unconscientiously used, and fidelity may have been sacrificed to rhetorical effect, or affected by the political opinions of the writer[2].

Yet to speak of it only as 'a picture party-coloured, hampered by modelling itself on the ideas of a fading past, and too often keeping silence as to elements of really decisive moment[3],' is to pass on it too severe and onesided a judgement. With all its shortcomings, no similar monograph of such fullness and value has come down to us; and when we consider how the very transparency of the defects seems even to point a contrast to the substantial correctness of the rest, how far the preponderance of what has stood the test of criticism and has been confirmed by later knowledge goes to accredit what we have no means of criticizing, and how much more we know through this treatise of the Germans of that date than of any race without the Roman empire or of most within it, we can justify the scholars of the Renaissance in styling it 'Libellus aureus[4].'

it in Uri, Unterwalden, Glarus, and Appenzell (Progress of English Constitution, pp. 8, foll.).

[1] Bp. Stubbs notes (p. 76) that the 'princeps,' 'dux,' 'nobilis,' and 'vicus' of Tacitus are the same in Bede, and that in the translation of the latter into Anglo-Saxon definite English words are uniformly used for them.

[2] An instance of this latter defect will be found in his apparent purpose to do less than justice to the success of Domitian. See on c. 29, 4; 37, 6.

[3] Mommsen, Hist. v. E. T. i. 169. Zernial (Introd. p. 7) seems rightly to protest against this criticism as far too sweeping.

[4] It is so styled in the 'editio princeps.'

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44. The Gotones, Rugii, and Lemovii : the Suiones, their ships and political system.
45. The motionless sea beyond, and continual daylight : position of the Aestii, and their trade in amber : the Sitones adjoining the Suiones.
46. People of doubtful race, the Peucini or Bastarnae, Venedi, and Fenni : fabulous region beyond, the Hellusii and Oxiones.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Manuscripts (on these see Introd. pp. 1–2).

- B Vaticanus, 1862.
- b Leidensis.
- C Vaticanus, 1518.
- c Farnesianus or Neapolitanus.
- H Hummelianus.
- M Monacensis.
- S Stuttgartensis.
- B^2, b^2, &c., corrections by later hands.

Editions.

- C. B. Church and Brodribb (edition and translation).
- K. F. Kritz and Hirschfelder, 1878.
- Mf. K. Müllenhoff, edition of 1873, also his Deutsche Altertumskunde.
- Mr. Joh. Müller, 1887.
- Pramm. Ignaz Prammer, 1889.
- Put. Fr. Puteolanus, cir. 1475.
- Rhen. Beatus Rhenanus, 1519, 1533, 1544.
- SS. H. Schweizer-Sidler, in the new edition of Orelli, 1877.
- SS^2. H. Schweizer-Sidler, shorter edit. with German notes, 1890.
- Z. U. Zernial, 1890.

CORNELII TACITI

DE GERMANIA

LIBER

1. GERMANIA omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut

TITLE.—CORNELII (C. CORNELII C c) TACITI DE ORIGINE ET SITU GERMANORUM (GERMANIAE c) LIBER B C c M. CORNELII TACITI DE ORIGINE SITU MORIBUS AC POPULIS GERMANORUM LIBER b. 1 retiis, rhetiis, raetiis MSS., text Cellarius. 2. Danubio B b c, text C (so below and in c. 29, 4; 41, 1; 42, 1).

De Germania. The real title of this work is very uncertain. Besides those given by the MSS., 'de situ Germaniae' is suggested by Reifferscheid, 'de situ ac populis Germaniae' by Wölfflin. The lost dissertation in Livy, which Tacitus may have followed (see Introd. p. 13), is described in the Epitome as containing 'situm Germaniae moresque.'

1. **Germania omnis.** Tacitus here excludes from Germany proper the Romanized 'Germaniae' within the Rhine (the people of which are, however, noted in c. 28, foll.) and the 'agri decumates' (c. 29, 4), apparently imitating Caesar, whose 'Gallia omnis' (B. G. 1. 1, 1) excludes the provincia Narbonensis. On his general geographical view, see Introd. p. 13, foll.

Raetis, thus corrected from the MSS. text; Raetia being only a single province. It included also Vindelicia (which extended to the Danube and 'limes'), and the name of the people seems here loosely taken to include the people of Noricum (c. 5, 1), which was a separate province. The people of these provinces (answering generally to parts of Bavaria, Austria, and the Tyrol) were (as regards Noricum and Vindelicia) mainly Celtic, but the Raeti had great linguistic affinity to the Etruscans (see Momms. Hist. i. E. T. p. 128).

que et, coupling the two Danubian peoples closely, as distinct from the Gauls on the Rhine frontier.

Pannoniis. The province of Pannonia bordered on the Danube from Vienna to Belgrade, and is often (with the neighbouring province of Delmatia) called Illyricum. The Illyrian race are represented in modern times by the Albanians or Arnauts. On their language see note on c. 43, 1.

Rheno. This river-name is generally taken to be Celtic ('the running'), with an inserted 'h' from the Greek form. Holzmann traces it to a root common also to other Aryan languages.

2. **Danuvio.** This form, generally taken to be correct for all classical Latin, is established in Tacitus by the Medicean MSS. of Ann. and Hist. The name is the Romanized form of a Celtic word ('rapid'), whence the German 'Tuonouwe,' (Mf.) 'Donau.' The name 'Ister' or 'Hister,' given to this river in its lower course, belongs to the language

montibus separatur: cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et
insularum inmensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis qui-
busdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, 2
Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus,
modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano

4. Reticarum B, Rheticarum b, text C c H.

of the Thracians, from whom the Greeks adopted it.

Sarmatis, the Σαυρομάται of Hdt. &c., a name used by some writers more definitely, but by others generally applied to the Scythic peoples of north-western Europe. Those here meant are chiefly the Iazyges Sarmatae, who had driven out the Dacians from the region between the Danube and the Theiss (Pl. N. H. 4. 12, 25, 80; cp. A. 12. 29, 4; H. 3. 5, 2; Strab. 7. 3, 17, 306). It is, however, plain that Tacitus considered the eastern neighbours of the Germans to be generally Sarmatian (c. 46, 1).

Dacis. This people, whose name takes the place of that of the Getae, are generally supposed to have been a Thracian race, though some have made them Germanic. At the date of this treatise they were formidable and unsubdued enemies of Rome, but were conquered a few years later by Trajan. The only people reckoned as German on whom they bordered were the Bastarnae (see c. 46, 1).

mutuo metu aut montibus, i.e. partly by the one, partly by the other (cp. 'fluminibus aut silvis,' c. 40, 1). Such a combination of physical and moral ideas is noted in c. 7, 4, also in H. 2. 4, 5 ('arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis'); and such rhetorical alliterations are frequent, especially in these treatises (Introd. p. 10). The 'montes' (part of the Carpathians) separate the German Bastarnae from the Dacians; against the Sarmatians there is no natural frontier.

1. **cetera**, the north and north-west.

sinus: if gulfs of the sea, as the Baltic and its recesses, are meant, 'complectens' must be here taken by zeugma, in the sense of 'efficiens'; but it is probable that projections of land (cp. c. 37, 1; Agr. 23, 2, &c.), such as the 'ingens flexus' of c. 35, 1, are intended.

2. **insularum inmensa spatia**: here 'inmensa' only means 'permagna' (cp. c. 6, 2; Agr. 10, 4; 23, 2, &c.). The whole Scandinavian peninsula was then supposed to be an island (see on c. 44, 2), and is no doubt here chiefly meant; though many others were known (see next note).

nuper cognitis, &c. The abl. abs., as often in Tacitus, has the force of a causal sentence ('since there have recently become known,' &c.). 'Nuper' must be taken with much latitude (cp. H. 4. 17, 7, &c.), as the reference cannot be to any later event than to the campaign of Tiberius in A.D. 5, when the army reached the Elbe, and the fleet explored the west coast of Jutland (see Mon. Anc. v. 14–18; Pl. H. N. 2. 67, 167), and may have come within sight of Scandinavia. Pliny speaks (4. 13, 27, 97) of twenty-three islands west of Jutland as 'Romanis armis cognitae'; instancing Burcana (Borkum) and others.

3. **gentibus ac regibus**, probably not to be taken as 'free states and monarchies,' but rather 'states and their kings'; kingly rule being apparently prevalent in those remote parts of Germany: see c. 44, 1; 3; 45, 9; &c.

aperuit, 'has disclosed to view': cp. the similar personification 'annus . . . aperuit' (Agr. 22, 1).

Rhenus, &c. He returns here to the two best known boundaries. The source of the Rhine is in Mt. St. Gotthard (probably the Ἀδούλας of Strabo and Ptolemy), which may be included in the 'Alpes Raeticae,' widely taken. The account of its course may be compared with that given in Caes. 4. 10, 2, and Plin. 4. 15, 28, 101.

5. **versus**, middle, 'turning.' Some take the description to refer to the bend at Arnheim, others better of its general direction throughout its course.

3 miscetur. Danuvius molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae iugo effusus pluris populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus hauritur.

2. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et inmensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris

1. Arnobae and Arbonae B b C c, Abnobe H, Abnobae Rhenanus.

1. **molli**; so 'molli . . . clivo' (Verg. Ecl. 9, 7), and similar expressions in Caesar.

clementer edito, cp. 'colles clementer adsurgentes (A. 13. 38, 5); so a hill is said 'clementer accedi,' or 'adiri' (A. 12. 33, 2; H. 4. 52, 1); the sense being derived from the use of the word of gentle motion in winds or streams. Here the expression (as also 'molli') is in contrast to 'inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice.'

Abnobae. This reading is confirmed by Pliny (4. 12, 24, 79), whom Tacitus appears to follow, and by later writers, also by an inscription 'Deanae ('Dianae') Abnobae' found in the locality (Orelli, 1986). The name is taken to be the Romanized form of a Celtic word, signifying a wood (or rock) surrounded by water. The Danube rises in Baden, on the eastern declivity of the Black Forest.

2. **pluris populos**, following Pliny (l.l.), 'per innumeras lapsus gentes.'

donec, often so used with pres. subjunct. of simple facts in Tacitus (c. 35, 1; A. 2. 6, 5, &c.), Pliny ma. &c.: the use in c. 20, 2, &c. is different.

Ponticum mare, so in A. 13. 39, 1: cp. 'os Ponticum' (A. 2. 54, 2). The Euxine is called simply 'Pontus' in A. 12. 63, 2, &c.

3. **meatibus**, 'outlets': such an abl. of direction, analogous to 'via,' is common in Tacitus; cp. 'finibus Frisiorum' (A. 1. 60, 2), 'litore Oceani' (A. 1. 63, 5), &c.

erumpat, perhaps intended to contrast with the 'Oceano miscetur' above.

septimum. Ovid speaks of the Ister as 'septemplex' (Tr. 2. 2, 189), and seven mouths are spoken of by Strabo (7. 3, 15, 305) and others. Pliny (4. 12, 25, 79) gives six and names them. At present, only three are generally reckoned.

4. **Ipsos**, marking the transition from the country to its people (the proper subject): so 'ipsi Britanni' (Agr. 13, 1).

indigenas = αὐτόχθονας, born in the country and its original inhabitants. This is argued (1) from geography, on two grounds ('quia' . . . 'quis porro'); (2) from their traditions.

minimeque . . . . mixtos, a second point, 'without any subsequent admixture of other blood': cp. c. 4. 1.

5. **adventibus et hospitiis**, 'by immigration and friendly intercourse.'

6. **advehebantur**, taken by zeugma with 'terra,' strictly with 'classibus.' 'Advecti' are contrasted with 'indigenae' in Agr. 11, 1, &c. On the view taken by Tacitus of primitive migrations, see Introd. p. 16.

quaerebant, so used with inf., analogously to 'cupio,' in Augustan poets and Pliny ma. but not elsewhere in Tacitus.

7. **inmensus ultra**, 'of immeasurable extent on the further side:' 'inmensus' has here its full meaning (see c. 1, 1), and 'ultra' would denote the north and north-west both of Germany and of the Roman world.

utque sic dixerim. This form of expression, used by Tacitus here and in A. 14. 53, 2 (where see note); Dial. 34, 2; 40, 3; perhaps also in Agr. 3, 3, also by Quint. and Pliny mi., is a combination of 'ut sic dicam' and 'ut dixerim,' both of which are modifications in the silver age of the classical 'ut ita dicam.' The expressions are all used to qualify a statement which might otherwise seem somewhat strong.

adversus, generally taken to mean 'belonging to another world,' 'antipo-

ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. quis porro, praeter periculum 2
horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta
Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem
cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?
Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos me- 3
moriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum

4. ni si C, nisi b, text B c, nisi sibi H. 6. tristonem (marg. Tuisman) B b, bistonem c, text C b^2, Tuisconem H^2.

dean.' Cicero so speaks of antipodes in Somn. Scip. 6 ('hos qui incolunt terram . . . partim etiam adversos stare nobis'), and Pliny speaks of the south pole as 'adversus' (2. 68, 172), and of flight of birds 'ex adverso orbe' (10. 6, 7, 19). It is, however, doubtful whether Tacitus so understood the form of the earth (see note on c. 45, 1), and the alternative interpretation 'hostile' is supported by the figure used in c. 34, 3, but would make the expression hardly strong enough to require 'ut sic dixerim.' Some old edd. read 'aversus,' after Acidalius.

1. **orbe nostro**, used of the Roman world in Agr. 12, 3, &c., here especially of the Mediterranean nations.

praeter, 'not to mention'; so in c. 44, 2.

2. **Asia . . . Africa**, not used here in the narrow provincial sense, but of such parts of these continents as bordered on the Mediterranean.

3. **peteret**, potential, referring to past time = 'quem olim petisse putas?'

informem terris, &c., 'wild in scenery (abl. of respect), rigorous in climate, repulsive to inhabit and behold': 'informis' is mostly used by Tacitus of rough material (c. 16, 3; 45, 5, &c.), so here of soil little cultivated. 'Cultu' is best taken as a supine, and the sense here given (cp. c. 16, 1; 28, 4; 32, 1, &c.) seems more suitable than that of 'to cultivate.' Seneca speaks similarly (de Prov. 4, 14) of the 'perpetua hiems,' 'triste caelum,' 'sterile solum' of Germany.

4. **nisi si patria sit**, 'unless he were born in it.' The incongruity of this sentence with 'peteret' and the change of tense to the present, shows that it should be taken closely with 'tristem,' &c., as describing the appearance presented to any one but a native. With 'nisi si' the indic. is generally used (Agr. 32, 1, &c.), whence some have suggested reading 'est' for 'sit,' or 'cui' for 'si.' Holder reads 'nisi sibi' after H.

5. **Celebrant**, sc. 'Germani': a second proof is drawn from their tradition of descent from an autochthonous god.

memoriae et annalium, 'tradition and history': 'annales' is used generally for the latter in A. 2, 88, 4; 3. 65, 1, &c. For these particular songs Tacitus is our sole authority, but such have formed the beginnings of history in most nations, and such were in use among the Germans of that time not only to record past traditions, but recent events, such as the exploits of Arminius (A. 2. 88, 4). For what is known of their character and structure see SS., and the authorities there cited.

6. **Tuistonem**. This form, adopted by Mf. and most recent edd., can be explained to mean 'gemellus' ('a being combined of both sexes'), a meaning also possible with the form 'Tuisconem' (preferred by Grimm and others), and expressing an idea found in other ancient mythologies. Others have supposed the true form to be 'Teutonem,' from the root seen in the name of the people associated with the Cimbri (see on c. 37, 1) and in other German and Celtic names. It is very possible that the legend here given reappears in the worship of the god mentioned in c. 39, 4; and other mythologies, which, if not later than Tacitus, are at least unknown to him (see Introd. p. 29, note 7), point to Wuodan as the great originator, representing him as having created a man and woman out of trees (Rhys, Hibbert Lectures, 283), and as the god or hero whose sons are eponymi of various

et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur.
4 quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque

1. conditorisque B b c, conditoris C M, conditoremque H, text Rhen. 3. ingeuones B b¹ C, text b² c H. hermiones B b¹ C, text b² c H. isteuones C, text B b c H. 4. plures C c. pluresque B b C c.

tribes, and to whom royal or princely pedigrees are traced (Kemble, i. 335, 341).

1. **Mannum.** This name is evidently from the root 'man' (the Indian 'Manu,' Gk. Μίνως, &c.) and must have been conceived as that of the ancestor not of the Germans in particular but of the human race.

originem, so used of a person in A. 4. 9, 8, after the Vergilian 'Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo' (Aen. 12, 166).

conditores; the prevalent reading 'conditoris' is probably an error of assimilation to 'gentis'; 'conditorem' (perhaps only a correction in H) is adopted by Holder. The expression 'condere gentem' is found in Verg. Aen. 1, 33.

2. **tris filios.** Their names are to be gathered from those given below, and would be 'Ingvas,' 'Irmnas' (or 'Ermnas'), 'Istvas.' The second name suggests that of Irmin, but it is generally thought that all three are cognomina of three great gods, Freyr (see on c. 40, 2), Tiu, and probably Wuodan (see on c. 9, 1), giving their names to tribes united by a common worship. The meaning of the cognomina is very doubtful; they are explained by Mf. to be 'the advancing,' 'the exalted,' 'the venerable.' For other views, see SS., SS².

quorum nominibus, &c. The same three names (with those of the Vandili and Peucini or Bastarnae) are given by Pliny (4. 14, 28, 99) as those of the 'genera' or groups of Germans. It is probable from some readings of his text and from the form of the personal names above given that the first and third here should be read 'Ingvaeones' and 'Istvaeones.' The second name is now generally so read in preference to 'Hermiones' (the MS. form also in Mela 3, 3, 32, and in Pliny). Pliny also gives the nations belonging to each, making his Ingaevones comprise the Cimbri, Teutoni, and Chauci; his Istaevones the Rhenish tribes; his Herminones the 'Mediterranei,' namely, the Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. The three stems will thus, as Grimm has pointed out, coincide generally with the Saxons, Franks, and Thuringians of later date. Pliny's 'Suebi' may be the Semnones of Tacitus, whose other Suebic tribes are, to some extent, included under Pliny's Vandili (comprising the Burgodiones, Varinnae, Charini, Gutones), and Peucini or Bastarnae. These three divisions, or even Pliny's five, can, in any case, hardly be taken to include all the furthest tribes to the east and north; nor is the classification that of Tacitus himself, who rather distinguishes the Germans into non-Suebic and Suebic (see c. 38, 1; 46, 1).

3. **ceteri,** acc. to Pliny (see above) only 'proximi Rheno.' Probably Tacitus is here referring to older authorities, to whom these three names seemed to include all Germans known to them.

4. **quidam,** &c. It is plain that the names given below do not hang together like those before mentioned, and do not seem drawn from ancient minstrelsy. The 'quidam' appear thus to be later antiquaries, perhaps Roman, who desired to find an explanation of names not apparently included under the above three, but belonging to groups rather than to single peoples.

ut in licentia vetustatis, 'as is natural in the scope given by antiquity to conjecture': for this use of 'ut,' cp. c. 22, 1; 39, 3; 45, 5, &c.

deo ortos, taken by Mf. generally ('of divine origin'), not with special reference to the deity above-mentioned. The conception of the unity of the race suggests rather that the same god is meant.

gentis appellationes, Marsos Gambrivios Suebos Vandilios adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina. ceterum Ger- **5**
maniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non gentis

1. ganbriuios C, gabrinios b[1], text B b[2] c. sueuos all, and so elsewhere in this treatise; see on c. 38, 1. uandalios b. 4. ut b, ac B C c.

1. **gentis appellationes**, 'group names': it is possible that the four here mentioned are given as instances, not as a full enumeration. None of them are mentioned further in this treatise except the Suebi (see note above). Of the others, the Marsi appear as a specific people in the campaigns of Germanicus (A. 1. 50, 6; 2. 25, 2), but are said by Strabo (7. 1, 3, 290) to have retreated into the interior, where they probably broke up into subdivisions: the Gambrivii, mentioned only by Strabo (l. c.) with other central tribes, appear from their name to be connected with, perhaps a parent stem of, the Sugambri; the Vandili (on whose subdivisions, given by Pliny, see note above) were evidently known to Tacitus only in their separate names, and rather as part of the Suebi than distinct from them; and in the latter part of the second century, when they begin to be prominent in history, are a people dwelling in part of the mountain district of Bohemia, and afterwards still nearer the Danube.

2. **eaque**, &c. sc. 'esse': 'and that these are real and ancient names,' as opposed to that of 'Germani' which is an 'inventum nomen' ('made up') and 'recens.' The statement of the 'quidam' plainly extends to 'vocarentur,' and this sentence seems best taken as part of it; but some would prefer to supply 'sunt,' and to take it as an interposed confirmatory remark by the writer.

3. **recens**, &c. i.e. it was added in later times and its date is known. The earliest mention of the name 'Germani' is in the Fast. Cap. under the year 532, B.C. 222 (recording the victory of Marcellus over the Insubrian Gauls), but this is taken to be an insertion of Augustan times. The name appears to have become known to Romans through the Germans who joined the ranks of Spartacus in B.C. 73–71 (Liv. Epit. 97; Plut. Crass. 9), and to have been made familiar chiefly by Caesar.

qui primi, &c. The words seem to follow Caesar's account (B. G. 2, 4, 1) of the supposed German origin of the Belgae generally ('plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus traductos . . . ibi consedisse, Gallosque . . . expulisse'), but the real reference is probably to those more distinctly called by Caesar, 'Germani cis Rhenum incolentes,' i.e. the Eburones and others, living in the district afterwards known as that of the Tungri (B. G. 2. 3, 4; 4, 10), and apparently represented by them.

4. **nunc Tungri**, sc. 'vocentur': one tense is thus supplied from another in c. 36, 2; 41, 1. This name is well known from Tacitus (cp. Agr. 36, 1, &c.), and Plin. ma., and from inscriptions, as that of auxiliaries in the Roman army, and their name survives in that of Tongres or Tongern, near Liége.

5. **Germani.** As the name appears to originate in Gaul, the most probable explanations are those based on Celtic roots, making it either = βοὴν ἀγαθοί or 'neighbours' ('gairmans') It appears from Strabo (7. 1, 2, 290) that the Romans thought the name to be of their invention, and to signify the 'genuine' Galatae or Celts, in distinction to the degenerate Gauls. Tacitus does not appear to have shared this error, but to have thought that they acquired the name at their invasion ('vocati sint,' referring to that time).

ita, &c. 'thus what had been a tribal, not national name, prevailed gradually': 'natio' is the term in common use for particular peoples or tribes (c. 33, 1; 40, 1; 46, 1, &c.), and is thus contrasted with 'gens,' used of the race as a whole (cp. c. 14, 3), but the latter term is often used of separate peoples (c. 27, 3; 30, 2; 38,

evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.

3. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vo-

2. et C, etiam om. c. 5. baritum c[2].

1, &c.), and 'natio' sometimes widely (cp. c. 4, 1). From comparison of 'in tumultum evaluit' (H. 1. 80, 3), some would here read 'in' for 'non.'

1. **a victore.** The prep. is best taken in the sense of ὑπό, not ἀπό, answering to 'a seipsis' below. Tacitus is seeking to explain how the name 'Germani,' originally applied to the CisRhenane, came to be extended to the TransRhenane peoples ('omnes'). The former desired to strike terror into the Gauls, whom they had dispossessed, by representing the whole race beyond the Rhine as their kinsmen, and having no other common name to apply to them called them by the newly devised name which they had themselves assumed, and this name the latter also (as these authorities suppose) adopted. 'Ob metum' has certainly thus a very opposite sense to its elsewhere invariable meaning, 'by reason of fear,' 'because they were afraid' (A. 1. 1, 5; 68, 2; H. 2. 49, 6; 65, 3, &c.); but 'ob' is used in a final sense in other nearly parallel expressions, as 'ob praedam' (H. 1. 63, 1, &c.), 'ob praemium' (A. 1. 3, 6, &c.), 'ob id' (A. 13, 5, 2), &c. Some have altered 'victore' to 'victo,' others make the words mean that the Gauls 'by reason of their fear called all the others after the name of the victor': but these seem to lead to still greater difficulties.

2. **a seipsis,** taken closely with 'vocarentur.' There does not seem to be any sufficient evidence that the Germans beyond the Rhine really called themselves by this name collectively.

3. **Fuisse . . . memorant.** From the use of 'eos' most commentators infer that the subject is the 'quidam' of the last chapter; but the change in 'canunt' would be thus so awkward, that it seems better to take the subject to be 'Germani,' as in 'celebrant' (c. 2, 3), and to suppose this to be a stronger instance of such use of 'is' for the reflexive as is elsewhere noted: cp. H. 2. 9, 2 (and Heräus there); Dial. 2, 2; A. 2. 36, 2, &c.

Herculem. The personality here mentioned as sung of before battle as the 'prototype of brave men,' and whose achievements are thus held up as the pattern to warriors, seems to differ from that conceived as one of the great gods in c. 9, 1 (where see note); but it is to be observed, that the divine and heroic type are strongly intermingled in German mythology. On the whole subject see Introd. pp. 27, 28, and note on c. 34, 2.

4. **sunt illis,** &c. From here to 'intumescat' we have what in modern writing would be a footnote, describing not apparently the warsongs before spoken of ('canunt'), but something suggested by and to be distinguished from them, a kind of battle chant called loosely 'carmina,' beginning probably with some sentences or words but ending evidently in inarticulate cries like the ἀλαλητός: cp. 'cantu truci' (H. 2. 22, 2; also 4. 18, 5.); 'laeto cantu aut truci sonore' (A. 1. 65, 1).

5. **haec.** Much of the difficulty of the passage lies in this pronoun. If it be taken as = 'ea,' 'talia,' 'eiusmodi,' we should expect a subjunctive; and the alternative interpretation, 'those well known,' would seem to require 'illa' (the parallel cited from c. 20, 1 being hardly apposite), for which it is perhaps substituted as 'illis' immediately precedes. The word may be corrupt; but the substitutions 'alia' (Z.), 'heroica,' or 'bellica' (Halm), and 'in acie,' as a contrast to 'ituri, &c.' (Hachtmann), are unsatisfactory.

relatu, 'intonation': the substantive is very rare: cp. H. 1. 30, 1; Sen. &c.

barditum. This reading is best supported, and the explanation from 'bardhi' (= 'scutum'), as 'shield song,' suits the context. Some have erroneously

cant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, ob- 2
iectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo 3
et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram

3. uoces ille (illae c, ille q; C) . . . uidentur all, text Rhen. 6. Ulyxen B, Ulyssem (ss in erasure) b, text C c. 8. Astiburgium b^1, Assiburgium C, text B b^2. 9. hodie C c, text B b. incolatur H M. nominatumque ασκιπυργιον B C c, text b (lacuna noted in H M and margin of b).

connected it with the Gallic 'bardi' (on whom see Lucan, 1, 444). Those who read 'baritus' cite the use of 'barritus' in Ammianus and Vegetius (e.g. 'voce Martia concinentes, quem appellant barritum,' Amm. 31. 7, 11) of a war-cry of this character.

2. **augurantur.** It is to be gathered from the context that certain characteristics of the sound by itself (ipso cantu) other than mere loudness were interpreted according to rules of augury.

sonuit acies, so in H. 4. 18, 5.

3. **vocis ... videtur.** This reading is adopted by most recent edd. 'The unison seems one of valour rather than of mere sound.' The expression seems suggested by 'melior actionum quam sonorum concentus' (Cic. Off. 1. 40, 145). The MSS. text may be taken (with C.B) to mean 'these shouts do not so much seem articulate sounds as a general cry of valour.'

4. **fractum,** so used of sounds by Vergil (G. 4, 72; Aen. 3, 556), where some explain it of the intermittent or successive, others of the crashing character of trumpet blasts or wave sounds. The latter passage is the more apposite, as Ammianus (16. 12, 43) describes the 'barritus' as 'clamor ... a tenui susurro exoriens paulatimque adulescens ritu ... fluctuum cautibus illisorum.'

6. **ceterum et,** going back to 'memorant,' but citing from other authorities. He here obviously refers to Greek or Roman antiquaries, following German or Celtic legends of a wandering god or hero, and fixing them to a spot by some local beliefs or resemblance of names. Many such extensions of the Odysseus myth are noted, bringing him to Iberia, Caledonia, Lusitania, &c. The German wanderer is probably Wuodan; see Introd. p. 27.

opinantur. This verb is used by Tacitus only here and four times in Dial.

Ulixen. This name, corrupted into 'Ulysses,' represents the form in which Odysseus was known to the Sicilian Greeks, and through them to the Romans.

7. **fabuloso,** 'rich in legend': cp. 'fabulosus Hydaspes' (Hor. Od. 1. 22, 8); it is used differently in c. 46, 6.

hunc, i.e. the German. The writer as it were transports himself to the spot.

8. **Asciburgium,** mentioned in H. 4. 33, 1, and evidently not far from Vetera; generally taken to be Asburg, near the Rhine, and near Moers; but by some to be Essenburg, near Duisburg. The name is German ('ship station,' from 'Esche' = 'ash'), and may have been given by the Cugerni (H. 4. 26, 4), who had dispossessed the Menapians (Caes. 4. 4). Professor Rhys (Hibbert Lectures, p. 289) inclines to connect it with the myth of the man named 'Ash' created by Wuodan (see on c. 2, 3).

situm, sc. 'est': some prefer to make it a participle, and to take 'hodieque' as 'hodie quoque,' as in Vell. 1. 4, 2, 3, &c.

9. **nominatumque.** The addition

quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laërtae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque
4 adhuc extare. quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

4. Ipse eorum opinioni accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis [aliis] aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur.
2 unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae,

7. opinionibus all, text Meiser. 8. aliis om. Lips. nationibus b[1]. 10. tamquam C c B[2], text B[1] b. 11. ceruli, B[1] b H, cerulei B[2] c, text C.

'Ἀσκιπύργιον, is generally taken to be a gloss, as Tacitus always either avoids Greek words or translates them (cp. A. 3. 65, 3; 15. 71, 3, &c.). It is not, however, clear whether he thought 'Asciburgium' a Greek word, or whether it is right to mark a lacuna where some old (perhaps Celtic) name of the place more resembling that of Ulixes has been lost.

1. **quin etiam**, often used in anastrophe by Tacitus, as by poets (Verg. Aen. 8, 485, &c.).

Ulixi, perhaps best taken as dative of the agent: cp. 'urbes . . . Macedonibus sitae' (A. 6. 41, 2). On the other hand, 'aram Druso sitam' (A. 2. 7, 3) is generally taken differently.

2. **monumentaque et tumulos**, hendiadys, 'barrows with inscriptions.' Probably the inscriptions were Etruscan; that language being akin to the Raetian (see on c. 1, 1), and its alphabet from a Greek source. The name 'Laertes,' if it could perhaps be placed here, might be a mistake for the Etruscan title 'Lart.'

4. **adhuc**, in the time of these informants.

neque confirmare, &c., almost verbally from Liv. Praef. 9, 'ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est.'

5. **ex ingenio suo**, 'according to individual inclination.'

demat vel addat fidem, explained by the words above: 'fides' has rather the meaning of 'credibility' than 'belief.'

7. **Ipse**, in contrast to 'quisque.' He here carries further what he had said in c. 2, 1, and holds them not only to be autochthonous, and a single race, but also to have remained always unmixed, as is shown by the uniformity of type. He thus implies disbelief in these tales of foreign visitors. A supposed mixed race is noted in c. 46, 1, and on the whole Tacitus goes too far (see Introd. p. 16). One of the wives of Ariovistus was a Norican (Caes. i. 53, 4).

opinioni, so Halm, Mr., Z.; most others retain the MSS. text.

8. **aliis**, probably a various reading inserted from the margin: some retain it as a repetition for emphasis: cp. 'ceteris aliarum,' 'omnem omnium' (Dial. 10, 4; 30, 3), &c.

nationum. We should have expected 'gentium' (cp. c. 2, 1, and note on c. 2, 5): 'aliae nationes' are thus contrasted with 'Germani' in A. 4. 72, 3.

infectos: cp. 'foedantur' (c. 46, 1), 'corruptus' (c. 23, 1).

propriam et sinceram, 'peculiar and unmixed': so 'nobilitatem . . . sinceram servare' (Liv. 4. 4, 7).

9. **tantum sui similem.** This would show that he was unconscious of the strong resemblance of his description to that given of the Gauls (see below).

10. **habitus corporum**, 'the bodily type': so used of the Britons (Agr. 11, 1).

quamquam, &c., i.e. although variety might be expected in so great a population.

11. **caerulei oculi**, &c. These cha-

magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem patientia, minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

5. Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax,

1. tamen C. 3. assuerunt B b, assueuerunt C c.

racteristics are generally so described by writers; thus Horace speaks (Epod. 16, 7) of the 'caerulea pubes' of Germany (the Cimbri and Teutons), Lucan (2, 51) of the 'flavi Suevi,' Juvenal (13, 164) of the blue eyes and curled golden hair as common to the whole race, Caesar (1. 39, 1) makes the Gauls themselves describe the Germans as of huge stature, incredible valour and training, and striking terror by the fierceness of their eyes. Much the same language is however used by Romans of the Gauls: see Introd. p. 17.

rutilae: cp. Agr. 11, 2. The colour is called 'rufus' by Seneca (de Ira 3. 26, 3), 'flavus' by others (see above). Germans and Gauls could produce this colour artificially or deepen it with a kind of soap (Pl. N. H. 28. 12, 51, 191; cp. 'rutilatam crinem,' H. 4. 61, 1), which was procured for the purpose by Roman ladies (Ov. A. A. 3, 163; Mart. 8. 33, 20, &c.).

1. **magna corpora**: cp. Agr. l. l., Caes. l. l., also c. 20, 1; H. 5. 18, 1. Sidonius speaks of a 'Burgundio septipes.' On the similar description of Gauls, see Caes. 2. 30, 3, &c.

impetum, 'a violent effort': Germanicus is made to describe them similarly (A. 2. 14, 5). Roman writers often note the same quality in Gauls (see Liv. 10. 28, 4, &c.)

laboris atque operum: 'opera' are perhaps used specially of military work, as in A. 1. 35, 1; 11. 18, 2, &c. Caesar says (6. 21, 3), 'ab parvulis labori et duritiae student,' but is speaking of war and hunting.

2. **patientia**, best taken as subst.: cp. 'nulla vulnerum patientia' (Ann. 2. 14, 5), and 'temperantia' in c. 23, 2.

minimeque sitim, &c.: cp. c. 23, 2. The inability to bear heat is illustrated by the rapidity with which the soldiers of Vitellius (who were mostly Germans) became demoralized in Italy (H. 2. 93, 1, &c.) The same is noted of Gauls (Liv. l. l., &c.).

3. **tolerare**, sc. 'assueverunt,' with which 'tolerare' is in turn supplied below.

caelo solove, causal ablatives, referring respectively to 'frigora et inediam.'

4. **Terra**, &c. The transition is suggested by 'caelo solove.'

etsi, &c., 'though somewhat varying in appearance': 'specie' is abl. of respect, 'aliquanto' of measure. Some would read 'aliquantum': cp. 'multum . . . differunt' (Agr. 24, 2).

in universum, 'generally': cp. c. 6, 4: the adj. with this prep. is often used in silver Latin for a modal adverb: cp. 'in publicum' (c. 21, 1), 'in commune' (c. 27, 3).

5. **aut silvis**, &c., 'is wild with forests or hideous with swamps': cp. 'silvestribus horrida dumis' (Verg. Aen. 8, 348). The chief forests are the Hercynia, Bacenis, Abnoba, Caesia, Teutoburgiensis. The morasses of the Low Countries play an important part in the campaigns of Germanicus (see A. 1. 63–68).

6. **ventosior**, contrasted with 'umidior'; it being implied that the winds make it drier.

satis, 'in crops of grain' (in contrast to 'arborum'); abl. of respect, as perhaps 'ferax oleo' (Verg. G. 2, 222), and as used with 'fertilis,' 'fecundus.' SS². takes it as dat. comparing 'fecundaque nulli arva bono' (Lucan 9, 696). Pliny (18, 17, 44, 149) mentions oats as the chief German cereal; barley, and probably wheat, were used to make beer (c. 23, 1). According to Tacitus, they grew no other crop but corn of some kind (c. 26, 2).

frugiferarum arborum inpatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed ple-
2 rumque improcera. ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae
3 opes sunt. argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est?
4 possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. est videre apud

1. pecudum b^1. 4. ne om. C c. 7. proinde c H M B^2, aut proinde C, text B^1 b S.

1. **frugiferarum arborum**, i. e. such fruit trees as southern climates have: cp. c. 26, 2. This is consistent with the mention of 'agrestia poma' in c. 23, 1; and the 'frugifera arbor' of c. 10, 1 has a different meaning. The vine is of later introduction.

inpatiens; so 'solum . . . patiens frugum' (Agr. 12, 5), &c.

pecorum, distinguished from 'armenta' (c. 21, 1; A. 13. 55, 3) and 'equi' (c. 12, 2), and probably here to be understood of sheep, goats, and swine, but taken by some in a wide sense of flocks and herds generally. Pliny says (17. 4. 3, 26), 'Quid laudatius Germaniae pabulis'?

2. **improcera**, sc. 'sunt': the change of subject is awkward, but it seems impossible to call the land itself 'improcera,' and none of the analogies cited are apposite. Lips. would read 'pleraque.' The word seems elsewhere only used by Gell. (4. 19, 1), of stunted human bodies.

armentis, 'cattle.' In A. 4. 72, 3, the 'modica domi armenta' of Germans are contrasted with the huge buffaloes (chiefly known by exaggerated report) of their forests. Caesar speaks (4. 2, 2) of their 'iumenta' (perhaps draught cattle) as 'prava atque deformia,' but trained to hard work.

suus honor, 'their natural beauty,' such as Vergil describes (G. 3, 51) in well-bred cattle.

3. **gloria frontis**, poetical: they had not the branching horns of Italian oxen.

numero gaudent, 'the number (not the quality) of their herd is their pride (so "gaudent," c. 15, 3; 21, 3; 46, 2, &c.); these are their sole and most cherished wealth.' 'Solae' seems rather overstated, but their land was hardly their own (c. 26, 2), and their household goods were few. Caesar speaks of them (6. 35, 6) as 'pecoris . . . cupidissimi'; the same words are cited by SS². as denoting in the old German language wealth and cattle (cp. also 'pecunia' and 'pecus'), and the latter are an established medium of exchange (c. 12, 2; 18, 1; 21, 1, &c.) as with the Homeric Greeks.

4. **propitiine an irati**, 'whether it be in mercy or in wrath that the gods have denied them,' &c.: cp. the sentiment 'effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum' (Ov. M. 1, 140); 'aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm cum terra celat' (Hor. Od. 3. 3, 49).

5. **nec . . . adfirmaverim nullam**, stronger than 'negaverim ullam.' When writing the Annals, Tacitus knew of silver mines, but of small value, in the Taunus district (11. 20, 4). The Rhine gold is not heard of till the fifth century. It is shown below that the precious metals were at this time known to Germans, and their names, having no connexion with Latin, would show that they were not originally procured through Roman intercourse.

7. **haud perinde**, 'not as much as might be expected': the expression is so used with an implied comparison in Agr. 10, 6; A. 2. 88, 4, &c. The context shows that Tacitus is here saying that the possession and use of precious metals as such was little valued, which is consistent with the fact that they were coveted by some as means of traffic (see also c. 15, 3, and note). Some wrongly distinguish between the 'possessio' and 'usus,' others take 'haud perinde' as ='varie,' meaning that some did value them and others did not.

est videre, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, a Graecism

illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, 5 serratos bigatosque. argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

6. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur: hastas

8. affectatione B b, affectione C c H M.

common in poets, but very rare in prose: cp. 'coniectare erat' (A. 16. 34, 2), 'negare sit' (Liv. 42. 41, 2), cited by Nipperdey as the only other instances.

1. **legatis et principibus**, 'to their envoys abroad and rulers at home.' The latter term (see notes on c. 10, 5; 11, 1) is here probably taken in a wide sense. It is used of German chiefs by Caesar, once as in c. 12, 3 (see note there), elsewhere (4. 11, 3; 13, 4; 6. 22, 2) perhaps less definitely.

2. **non in alia vilitate**, 'no less slightly valued' (cp. 'neque alia . . . pietate,' A. 3. 16, 5), i.e. in common daily use; a concise expression for 'non in alio pretio quam ea quae vilia sunt' (some inferior MSS. have 'utilitate'). The silver-mounted drinking horns described by Caesar (6. 28, 6) seem chiefly valued as trophies of the chase.

quamquam, qualifying the previous statements.

3. **proximi**, 'those nearest to us,' on the Rhine and Danube frontier.

usum commerciorum, 'the requirements (cp. A. 4. 5, 6, &c.) of trade.' On Roman trades in Germany see A. 2. 62, 4, &c. The Germans exported slaves (c. 24, 4), amber (c. 45, 4), hides (A. 4. 72, 2), &c.

in pretio habent, an unusual expression for 'magni habent' (Pram.)

4. **adgnoscunt**, 'recognize as of value.'

5. **simplicius**, 'more naturally.'

7. **serratos bigatosque** (sc. 'denarios'), 'with milled edges and stamped with the biga.' These were the old denarii of the last century of the Republic, and were heavier than the Neronian coinage: see D. of Ant. i. p. 207.

quoque, i.e. besides preferring old silver to new, they prefer silver generally to gold. It has been noted that Roman silver coins are common in Germany, and gold (until the third century) very rare.

8. **nulla adfectione**, causal abl. varied to 'quia,' &c.

9. **promiscua**, things in general use (cp. c. 44, 4), not costly luxuries for the few.

10. **Ne ferrum**, &c. The mention of metals leads him to speak of weapons, and thus introduces the section on manners and customs lasting down to c. 27.

superest, 'is abundant'; so in c. 26, 2; Agr. 44, 2; 45, 6, &c.: that some iron was found is seen from c. 43, 2.

genere telorum, 'their weapons in general.' He does not note weapons of other metal as in use at that time; and the bone arrowheads of the Fenni (c. 46, 3) are mentioned as a mark of their low condition. It is thought that iron became known to the Slaves and Germans in the sixth or fifth century B.C., and the name 'Eisen' is taken to be from that of bronze ('aes,' &c.). See Taylor, Origin of the Aryans, ch. 3.

11. **rari**, some few: cp. 'raris . . . navibus' (c. 2, 1).

gladiis: such are mentioned in c. 18, 1; 24, 1; 44, 1 (cp. also the note on

vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel comminus vel eminus pugnent. et eques quidem 2
scuto frameaque contentus est, pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis colo-

3. cominus b, and in c. 8, 1. 5. in mensum B b, text C c H S.

the name 'Cherusci' in c. 36, 1); but it would seem from A. 2. 14, 3, that they were not a general weapon, as with Romans. German swords were generally large, and therefore costly and confined to the more completely armed. The Marcomani and Quadi in the sculptures on the Antonine column (see Bartoli's plates) are sometimes represented with short swords.

maioribus lanceis. The 'enormes' or 'ingentes hastae' of Germans are often mentioned (A. 1. 64, 3; 2. 14, 3; 21, 1; H. 5. 18, 1; Lucan, 6, 256) as very formidable except at close quarters, and not as if they were as rare as is here stated; but Germanicus is made to say (A. 2. 14, 4) that only the front rank had 'hastae,' the rest 'praeusta aut brevia tela.'

1. **frameas.** These, which are here called 'hastae,' in contrast to the 'maiores lanceae,' seem to be the 'brevia tela' contrasted with 'hastae' in A. l.l. Many heads of such, both of iron and bronze, have been found in tombs. The German word (derived by Mf. from 'fram,' 'forwards,' as denoting its mode of use) is used by Tacitus in this treatise only. It is used without reference to Germans in Juv. 13, 79, and given in a list of weapons in Gell. 10, 25. Augustine and Isidorus take it to mean a sword, but it still survives as a word for a missile spear in Spanish (SS.). Vergil's Gallic 'gaesum' (Aen. 8, 662), perhaps also his Teutonic 'cateia' (Aen. 7, 741), seem to be similar weapons. Spears answering to the description of the 'framea' are represented on the Antonine column: see Bartoli, pl. 36; Dict. of Ant. s.v. 'testudo.'

4. **scuto.** Their shields are described in A. 2. 14, 4, as very large, but of wicker or thin coloured boards, not strengthened by iron or leather. Round shields are noted as exceptional in c. 44, 1, but in the sculptures on the Antonine column the prevalent form is such or oval, much resembling the 'clipeus' assigned frequently to Roman soldiers. Sometimes the form is given as an elongated octagon, and SS. speaks of trapezoid and triangular German shields.

missilia, such as the 'saxa glandesque' of H. 5. 17, 5. Some slingers and archers are represented on the Antonine column (pl. 11, 27).

spargunt, so used of missiles in poetry (Verg. Aen. 7, 686; 8, 695; 12, 51).

5. **in inmensum vibrant,** 'hurl to a vast distance': the prep. cannot here be absent, as in A. 3. 30, 2, &c.

nudi. The contrast 'sagulo leves' shows that this is to be taken literally or nearly so (cp. c. 20, 1; 24, 1; H. 2. 22, 2). On the German dress generally, see c. 17, 1, and note. Some apparently German auxiliaries represented on the column of Trajan (Bartoli, pl. 26) have 'braccae,' but above the waist are either altogether bare or have a 'sagum' only, and this is probably what is here meant. Vergil (9. 1, 229) uses 'nudus' rhetorically of a labourer clad only in the tunic, as does Pliny (N. H. 18. 3, 4, 20) of Cincinnatus at the plough.

6. **leves,** 'lightly clad'; so of one lightly armed, in Verg. Aen. 9, 548. On the German 'sagum' see c. 17, 1.

cultus. The context would show this to be taken of adornment of arms or military decorations, such as were displayed by Romans (cp. H. 1. 88, 4; A. 1. 24, 4, &c.) or Gauls (Liv. 7. 10, 7; Verg. Aen. 8, 660, &c.).

lectissimis coloribus: cp. 'fucatas colore tabulas' (A. 2. 14, 4). Different tribes seem to have had their own colours, as the Harii black (c. 43, 6),

3 ribus distingunt. paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior
4 sit. in universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos
5 ante aciem locant. definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis

1. distinguunt Mf. Mr., similarly in c. 17, 1, text all MSS. aut galeae B b c, augaleae C, text Rhen. with two inferior MSS. 4. cuncto b^1 B^2, concto C, text B^1 b^2. 5. existimanti C c. 6. prel—or prael—MSS. here and elsewhere. 7. dilectos B^2. 8. centeni . . . numerus om. C.

the Cimbri white (Plut. Mar. 25), and in later times, the Frisii brown, and the Saxons red shields. German shields as represented on the Antonine column have usually some ornamental design of lines and curves.

1. **paucis loricae.** In A. 2. 14, 4, they are rhetorically described as wholly without cuirasses or helmets. SS^2. notes that the words 'Panzer' and 'Harnisch' are of foreign origin. The Cimbrian horsemen appear to have had more complete armour (Plut. Mar. 25).

uni alterive, 'one or two' (very few): cp. Dial. 21, 1; Agr. 15, 5, &c.

cassis aut galea; where these terms are distinguished, the former would denote a helmet of metal, the latter one of hide (κυνέη). The German 'Helm' denotes merely a cover or protection ('hehlen'). On the Antonine column the German warriors are bareheaded and have no protection but their shields. In a few cases a 'pileus' is seen.

2. **equi,** &c. Caesar rehorsed his German auxiliaries, 'quod minus idoneis equis utebantur' (7. 65, 5); but speaks of the skill shown in dismounting and fighting (4. 2, 3; 12, 2). The Tencteri are exceptionally noted as good horsemen (c. 32, 2).

3. **variare gyros.** Roman horses were thus trained: cp. 'in gyros ire coactus equus' (Ov. A. A. 3, 384) also Tib. 4, 94; Lucan 6, 87). By 'variare,' the describing of manifold circles is meant, like a figure 8, or like Vergil's description of the 'ludus Troianus' (Aen. 5, 584).

uno flexu dextros. Some have added 'vel sinistros,' thinking that the copyist had skipped to the similar termination; others alter 'dextros' to 'versos' or strike it out as a gloss, thinking that Tacitus may have written 'uno flexu,' in the sense of 'by a simple flank movement' (whether to right or left).

4. **ita coniuncto,** &c., 'so keeping line as they wheel, that no one drops behind the one next to him.' It has been thought that 'orbe' should be 'ordine,' or that the MS. 'cuncto' points to 'iuncto.'

5. **in universum aestimanti**: cp. Agr. 11, 3; 'vere reputantibus' (H. 4. 17, 5), &c. This Greek so-called dative absolute is also thus used in expressions of judgement by Livy (10. 30, 4; 37. 58, 8). Some instances may equally be explained as concise ablatives absolute.

plus, &c. This is especially said of the Chatti (c. 30, 3), also of the Britons (Agr. 12, 1).

6. **eoque** = 'ideoque'; so frequently in Tacitus (c. 20, 3; 28, 1; 41, 1; 44, 3, &c.), as in Sall. and Liv.

mixti proeliantur. The subject is not 'equites,' but general.

8. **definitur et numerus,** &c. It is not possible here to enter fully into the many opinions about this passage; but it seems plain that he is here speaking only of the select corps who fought 'ante aciem' (the 'acies' itself, or mass of warriors, being mentioned below). He has said that they are generally stronger in foot than in horse, and adds that they therefore adopt a mixed order in battle, supporting the cavalry in

pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. acies per cuneos componitur. cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii 6
quam formidinis arbitrantur. corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

7. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. nec

1. quidem B b[1], quod c b[2]. 4. et C, etiam B b c.

advance of the line by a picked body of foot able to keep up with them. It is not clear whether the 'numerus' is that of the cavalry and picked infantry together, or of the latter only. Caesar's description of such an *élite* body in the force of Ariovistus (1. 48, 5) would go to show that there were an equal number of each, which would suggest that each 'pagus' (on these see c. 12, 3; 39, 4; Introd. p. 23) furnished fifty of each. We gather that they were called by a German name meaning 'the hundred men,' and that the word, from being merely one of number, became a title of honour. Whether we have here any error arising from the German division into 'hundreds' (see notes, l. l.) is doubtful.

2. **per cuneos**, 'in wedge-like columns.' SS[2]. cites authorities to show that this formation, likened in shape to a boar's head, is spoken of in the laws of Manu, and thus shown to be of great antiquity. The composition of each separate 'cuneus' is described in c. 7, 3; and these again are combined into one or more of the whole people. Such 'cunei' of distinct tribes are mentioned in H. 4. 16, 3; 5. 18, 1, &c. Elsewhere 'cuneus' is often used of any kind of formation in phalanx or column.

3. **loco**, 'from your position'; so 'loco pelli' (H. 4. 58, 2), &c.: to a Roman this was disgraceful. This German tactic is mentioned in A. 1. 56, 6, and contemptuously spoken of by Germanicus in A. 2. 14, 5.

dummodo: except here and in Dial. 25, 2, Tacitus uses in this sense simply 'dum' (H. 1. 46, 4; A. 1. 9, 4, &c.).

instes, 'you press forward'; the subject is general, as with 'tueare' (c. 14, 3).

consilii quam formidinis, 'a mark of prudence rather than of cowardice.' Such a genitive, like 'morum' (A. 1. 30, 2), 'flagitii' (A. 3. 20, 2), &c., may be explained as qualitative or as quasi-partitive. The omission of 'magis' or 'potius' in comparative sentences is very common in Tacitus: cp. 'pacem quam bellum' (A. 1. 58, 2), &c.

4. **dubiis**, 'where they are not victorious': it would be only in utter defeat that the dead are left on the field.

5. **praecipuum**, 'the greatest': this term has often in silver Latin the force of a superlative (c. 7, 3; 14, 2; &c.).

6. **concilium**. On these meetings, see c. 11–12.

ignominioso, 'the disgraced' (ἀτίμῳ), explained by the context.

multique, &c. Such suicides are to be distinguished from the penalty of death for confirmed cowardice described in c. 12, 1.

7. **superstites**; so with genit. in Agr. 3, 2, &c., also with dat. in c. 14, 2, &c.

8. **Reges**, &c., 'they choose kings by ancestry, generals by merit' (C. B.): 'ex' = 'in accordance with,' as in c. 3, 4; 9, 3, &c. The royal races generally traced their pedigree to a god, as Wuodan (see on c. 2, 3), and the old German term 'chuninc' (Anglo-Saxon 'cyning,' later 'König') seems best explained as connected with a root denoting lineage (see the views given in Bp. Stubbs, i. 158). On the position and power of the king generally, see Introd. p. 19, and authorities there cited. It is not clear whether even he was subject to the 'dux' in war, or whether, as most think, where he existed, he was also the natural leader, and such choice of a 'dux' ('herizoho,' 'herzog,' or 'duke') as is here spoken

regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius
quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant,
admiratione praesunt. ceterum neque animadvertere neque **2**
vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum,
non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt. effigiesque et signa **3**
quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque prae-

1. ac C c H, aut B b. etiam B b, et C c H. 2. agunt C. 5. veluti C.

of was either the temporary elevation to preeminence of one of the 'Ealdormen' of a kingless state (see the passages of Caesar and Bede quoted in Introd. p. 20), or the choice of a leader of one state to command others also in a combined rising, as in the case of Arminius, who, though of royal race, was never king, yet may have commanded kings of other tribes. We have a 'dux Marsorum' in A. 2. 25, 2, and the choice of such a leader, and the inaugurating ceremony of uplifting him upon a shield, is described in H. 4. 15, 3.

nec regibus, &c.: so certain kings are said to rule 'in quantum Germani regnantur' (A. 13. 54, 2): see Introd. p. 19. The contrast present to Tacitus was chiefly that of Eastern monarchies (cp. c. 37, 3).

1. **aut** = 'or even': 'libera' is hardly as strong a word as 'infinita.'

exemplo, &c. 'lead by example rather than command' (instrumental abl.). The nature of the example is indicated by 'si ... agant' (subjunct. of repeated action), and its force on others by 'admiratione' (causal abl.). Cp. 'suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate' (c. 11. 5).

3. **ceterum,** restrictive, as in c. 9, 3, &c. The expressions rise in strength, and are all in strong contrast to Roman custom, and perhaps overstated (see next note).

animadvertere, 'to put to death' (so, with 'in aliquem,' in H. 1. 46, 8; 68, 6; 85, 1, &c.). If Tacitus is right, Caesar (see note on § 1) in expressly stating that the chosen leader had this power, must have confounded his functions with those of the priest, of whose existence and duties he shows no knowledge (see note below).

4. **ne verberare quidem**: this every Roman centurion could do.

sacerdotibus. On the German priests, see Introd. p. 29. Caesar says nothing on the subject, except (6. 21, 1) to contrast the Germans with the Gauls as having no Druids: a Chattan priest, named Libes, is mentioned by Strabo (7. 1. 4, 292) among the captives of Germanicus.

5. **non quasi in poenam,** 'not by way of punishment'; 'in' = 'with a view to': cp. 'in quaestum' (c. 24, 2), &c.

nec ducis iussu. Some bring Tacitus nearer to Caesar by repeating 'quasi,' but in that case we should expect 'aut' or some other word rather than 'nec.'

sed velut, &c., 'but as if ordered by the tutelary god.' The act was one of sacrifice to the god of the tribe. Somewhat in a similar spirit we hear of some or even all of the vanquished in battle offered as victims to the gods of the victors; see Introd. p. 30.

6. **effigiesque,** &c. This seems closely coupled to the belief of the presence of the god in battle. Mf. has shown that the 'signa' are weapons associated with certain gods (as the lance of Wuodan, the hammer of Donar, the sword of Tiu, &c.) and the 'effigies' those of animals (cp. H. 4. 22, 4) in some way consecrated to them (as the serpent and wolf of Wuodan, the bear and goat of Donar, the ram of Tiu, the boar of Freyr, &c.) Z. notes the German skill in making such figures, and the legends of Wieland (the German Daedalus), and the brazen bull of the Cimbri (Plut. Mar. 23). Some such figures appear in the sculptures on the Antonine column (Bartoli, pl. 37).

7. **detracta lucis**: cp. 'depromptae

cipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus
4 audiri, unde vagitus infantium. hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

8. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe

1. neque b. 2. et cuneum C c b², aut B b¹. 3. ululatus foeminarum C. 6. enumerare b. et C c, aut B b.

silvis' (H. l. l.). The figures were no doubt hung on sacred trees.

ferunt; the subject (as of 'credunt') is probably general.

quodque, appositional relative, referring to the following clause.

2. **turmam aut cuneum**, 'a division of horse or foot': on the latter, see c. 6, 5.

familiae et propinquitates, i. e. families and clans fought together. Instances of this are cited in later German warfare. Caesar states (6. 22, 2) that the allotments of land (on which see c. 26, 1), followed a similar principle: 'gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierint, quantum, et quo loco visum est, agri adtribuunt.'

3. **et in proximo**, &c. The women and children were thus brought into the field by Civilis (H. 4. 18, 4), and by Ariovistus (Caes. 1. 51, 6), also by Thracians (A. 4. 51, 2), and Britons (A. 14. 34, 4). The wives of the Teutons are represented as even slaying their own warriors in their flight (Plut. Mar. 19).

pignora; often so used for 'pignora amoris' (Agr. 38, 1; A. 12. 2, 1, &c.), after poets (Prop. Ov. &c.) and Livy.

unde . . . audiri. Although the historical infinitive is used by Tacitus in dependent clauses, as with 'cum' (A. 2. 31, 1, &c), 'ubi' (A. 6. 19, 4, &c.), 'donec (A. 13. 57, 6), there is no precedent for its use to express what is customary (see Dräger, Synt. und Stil des Tacitus §§ 28 d; 172), nor is the 'hinc exaudiri' of Verg. Aen. 7, 15 (cited by Z.), truly parallel. Ritt. brackets 'audiri,' others would insert 'potest' or 'possit,' or read 'auditur,' 'audias,' or 'audire est.' The two latter are preferable to the first, as 'ululatus' is probably plural (A. 4. 62, 5; 14. 32, 2).

4. **hi**, the wives and mothers, supplied from the sense. The gender is attracted to that of 'testes' and 'laudatores.'

5. **ferunt**, i. e. come and show them.

6. **exigere**, 'to examine' (i. e. to compare, and assign the palm of honour); so in Liv. Sen. Quint. The sense 'require' or 'demand' hardly suits 'pavent.' SS². thinks it possible that we have here an exaggeration (for contrast with Roman ladies) of the fact that the women acted as surgeons.

cibosque, &c., a zeugma for 'cibos apportant et ad virtutem hortantur.' Tacitus often thus joins material and mental ideas: cp. 'metu aut montibus' (c. 1, 1). The frequentative 'gestant' expresses regular practice.

8. **Memoriae proditur.** The tense would imply that he is citing a still living oral tradition, containing probably no reference to the cases noted on c. 7, 3.

inclinatas, 'turned in flight': so in Liv. and intrans. act. in A. 1. 64, 4; H. 3. 83, 1.

9. **obiectu pectorum.** Some take this as 'se ipsas periculis pugnae obiciendo'; but the context would rather suggest that it is a gesture imploring their husbands to kill them rather than let them become slaves.

10. **monstrata comminus captivitate**, 'signifying (by word and gesture) the captivity close awaiting them': for

impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid 2
et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Velaedam 3
diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

3. nubiles b[2]. imperentur b[1]. 5. Veledam B c, Valedam C, uoledam b. 7. auriniam B[1] b[1] C, Albriniam B[2] b[2], fluriniam c, text Wackernagel.

the sense of 'comminus' (='prope') cp. 'viso comminus . . . agmine' (H. 1. 41, 1); for the adjectival use of an adverb, cp. c. 37, 3; also 'nullis contra terris'; 'universarum ultra gentium' (Agr. 10, 2; 25, 1), &c. Cp. Caes. (1. 51, 3), 'mulieres in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus flentes implorabant ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.'

1. **impatientius**, 'more uncontrollably': cp. impatienter indoluit' (A. 4. 17, 2), and the similar use of 'intoleranter' in Cic. and Caes.

nomine, 'on account of': cp. 'decretae eo nomine supplicationes' (A. 14. 59, 6); 'hoc nomine' (Sall. Cat. 35, 4); 'multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum' (Cic. de Am. 25, 91), and Dean Wickham's note on Hor. Od. 3. 21, 5, where 'quocunque . . . nomine' has a somewhat similar meaning, and the sense is explained as taken from the headings or titles of an account.

2. **puellae . . . nobiles**, a better reading in every way than 'nubiles.' Only the highborn of either sex would be of value as hostages (cp. H. 4. 28, 1). Female hostages are seen in H. 4. 79, 1; such were sometimes required by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 21), and appear in ancient Roman history, as in the story of Cloelia (Liv. 2. 13, 6).

3. **inesse**, &c. The respect felt for women is illustrated still more strongly. Besides their faith in prophetesses, Mf. notes the respect paid to the feminine ideal in the conception of the female semideities or 'idisi' (see A. 2. 16, 1), as a link between earth and heaven.

4. **providum**, 'a prophetic gift': cp. 'fatidicas' (H. 4. 61, 3). Caesar speaks (1. 50, 4) of German 'matres familiae' as giving divination or prophecy as to the advisability of battle.

5. **vidimus**, probably taken strictly. From Stat. S. 1. 4, 90 ('captivaeque preces Veledae'), it appears that she was brought a prisoner to Rome, probably in the time of Vespasian, perhaps in A. D. 70, and may have been seen by Tacitus and his contemporaries.

Velaedam. This prophetess, one of the Bructeri, played an important part in inspiring the rising of Civilis: see H. 4. 61, 3, &c. This form of the name is given in the Histories (according to Meiser) in all six places in the second Medicean MS., a higher authority than that of our MSS. here. Dio also (67. 5, 3) has Οὐέλῃδα or Βέλῃδα, but Statius (see note above) 'Velĕda.' The word is taken by Mf. to be a surname from a root 'val' or 'vĕl,' signifying benevolence.

6. **apud plerosque** = 'a permultis.'

sed et = 'sed etiam,' without a preceding 'non solum,' as in c. 17, 3.

olim: the time is unknown, but may have been that of the wars of Drusus and Tiberius.

7. **Albrunam**. The readings of the MSS. convey no meaning; the correction here given is explained as a surname denoting a gift of witchcraft or prophecy ('die mit der Runenkraft der Elfen begabte'). In later times Iornandes (24) speaks of prophetesses called 'aliorunae' (v. l. 'alibrunae'), and still later one is named 'Alraun.'

compluris alias. The prophetesses of the Cimbri are mentioned by Strabo (7. 2, 3, 294); Vespasian had one belonging to the Chatti (Suet. Vesp. 14); one named Ganna had succeeded to

9. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus
humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Mar-
2 tem concessis animalibus placant. pars Sueborum et Isidi

2, 3. Martem . . . placant et Herculem B b, text C c.

Velaeda in Domitian's time (Dio l. l.); others are mentioned among the Lombards and Alemanni.

non adulatione, 'not out of servility' (causal abl.).

nec tamquam facerent deas, 'nor as if they were deifying mortals,' as the Romans had deified Drusilla, sister of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 24), Poppaea, wife of Nero (A. 16. 21, 2), and others. The stress laid on 'facerent' makes this not wholly inconsistent with what is said in H. 4. 61, 3 ('fatidicas et mox augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas'). This sentence forms the transition to the next chapter.

1. **Deorum**, &c. Tacitus is at variance with Caesar, who says (6. 21, 5) 'Deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos cernunt, et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, solem et Vulcanum et Lunam; reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.' Granting that the worship of Sun, Moon, and Fire, existed at that date, Caesar cannot but have been misinformed in supposing that there was no other or higher worship (see SS. SS².). We should suppose that Tacitus here selects for mention those most generally worshipped; the cults spoken of elsewhere (c. 39, 2; 40, 2; 43, 4; 45, 3) being described as those of particular tribes or groups of tribes.

Mercurium. Tacitus here copies the words used by Caesar (6. 17, 1) of the Gauls: 'deum maxime Mercurium colunt.' The ground for identification is there added: 'hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem; hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur.' Similar resemblances can be found in the German Wuodan (the Norse Odin), who is expressly identified with Mercurius in Paul. Diac. 1. 9 (cp. 'Wednesday'= 'dies Mercurii'), and among whose manifold attributes those of the culture god were probably most prominent (see Introd. p. 27), and in whose symbols some discern a resemblance to the 'petasus,' 'caduceus,' and 'talaria' (see Z. and Pramm.).

certis diebus, 'on stated days' (cp. c. 11, 1): these were at the two solstices (Z.). For other instances of human sacrifice, see c. 39, 2; 40, 5, and note on c. 7, 2. According to Caesar (6. 16) and Lucan (1, 444–447), such were very prevalent among the Gauls.

2. **Herculem ac Martem.** The order of words is uncertain (see crit. note) and Ritter thinks the name of Hercules interpolated, but it is not probable that Mars alone is mentioned. The Hercules here spoken of (see c. 3, 1, and note) if conceived distinctly as one of the great gods and yet not as Wuodan, can only correspond with Donar (the Norse Thor), whose special attributes as the sender of thunder, &c., resemble those of Zeus or Jupiter, with whom (cp. 'Thursday'='dies Iovis') he is more generally identified (see Introd. p. 28). Mars is undoubtedly Tiu, the Norse Tyr, whose name, surviving in 'Tuesday' ('dies Martis'), is linguistically evidently another form of Zeus (see on c. 39, 4, and Introd. l. l.).

3. **concessis**, best taken to mean such as were permissible by general civilized opinion, in contrast to human sacrifices, which were revolting: cp. the contrast 'concessa' and 'incesta' in H 5. 4, 1, and the use of 'concessae voluptates' of those regarded as venial (A. 13. 2, 2; 14. 21, 5). Others take it to mean such as are allowed by the gods, or pure animals, in contrast to wild beasts or vermin. Some needlessly alter to 'consuetis.' Among the chief victims were the horse, as the noblest, the bull, the ram, &c. In saying of the Germans 'neque sacrificiis student,' Caesar (6. 21, 1) may only mean that they laid no stress on sacrifices as compared with the Gauls (see on c. 7, 2). He uses the same words (6. 22, 1) of their agriculture, without necessarily meaning that they had no agriculture at all.

Sueborum. On these see c. 38, 1, foll.

Isidi. This is no doubt an 'inter-

sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum com-
peri, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum
docet advectam religionem. ceterum nec cohibere parietibus 3
deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex
magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora conse-
crant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod
sola reverentia vident.

1. peregrinorum C. 2. figuratum . . . parietibus repeated twice in C.

pretatio Romana' (c. 43, 4), founded perhaps on the idea that the symbol of a ship suggested a comparison with the ceremony called 'navigium Isidis' (March 5), in which a ship was launched and dedicated to Isis in token of recommencement of navigation (Apul. Met. 11. 16, 786, cp. Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, iii. 80). Grimm (E. T. i. 258, foll.), and Ritt. note a procession of a shiplike car in later times in Flanders (where a Suebic offshoot is found, see on Agr. 28, 4), resembling that of the chariot of Nerthus (c. 40, 2), an identification with whom is also suggested by the general correspondence of Isis and Terra. Either the 'Hludana' or the 'Nehalennia,' both found in votive inscriptions in that region, may be the German name of this Isis. For other forms of the earth goddess see note on c. 40, 2.

1. **unde causa**, sc. 'sit.' The omission of the subjunct. of 'esse' is more frequent in Tacitus than in previous writers. For similar instances in relative clauses cp. c. 13, 3; 19, 3, &c.

peregrino, in contrast to the true German gods above mentioned.

2. **nisi quod**, 'except that': cp. Agr. 6, 1, &c.

signum ipsum, 'even the symbol': 'signum' is ambiguous and might denote the symbol of the goddess or that of the means of transport.

liburnae, a chiefly poetical word for 'liburnica,' which properly denotes a 'biremis,' or ship of war smaller than a trireme, but came to have sometimes a wider meaning.

3. **advectam**, 'imported by sea': cp. Agr. 11, 1, &c.

ceterum, marking a contrast to the 'signum' just mentioned, and perhaps to the anthropomorphism suggested by the names of the gods above given. He appears to forget the extremely anthropomorphic conception of Hercules in c. 3, 1.

nec cohibere parietibus, &c. The statement of Tacitus here is perhaps too sweeping (see c. 40, 3, and note), but resembles the account given of the Gauls, whose 'loca consecrata' (Caes. 6. 17, 4) were apparently groves (Lucan 3. 399, foll.). Temples seem, however, to have been common in Germany at the advent of Christianity among them. The statement that there were no images of gods is consistent with c. 7, 3, possibly also with c. 40, 5 (see notes), but certainly at variance with later Christian information (see Grimm, p. 106, foll.), though on other grounds credible (see Introd. p. 29). The Gauls had 'simulacra' (Caes. 6. 17, 1), but of rude character (Lucan 3, 412), though afterwards more elaborate (Plin. 34, 7, 18, 45).

adsimulare, 'to liken': cp. Agr. 10, 1, here 'to represent.'

ex: cp. c. 3, 4; 7, 1, &c.

5. **lucos ac nemora**, often thus coupled as synonyms or nearly such: cp. c. 10, 4; 45, 7; Dial. 12, 1, &c. Tacitus mentions a 'lucus Baduhennae' (A. 4. 73, 7) and 'silva Herculi sacra' (A. 2. 12, 1): cp. also c. 7, 3; 39, 2; 40, 2; 43, 4; H. 4. 14, 3. Many references to such groves are found also in Christian writers; and it is noted by Grimm that in old German the same word, as 'haruc,' stands for a grove and, later, for a temple.

6. **deorumque nominibus**, 'and give the names of deities to that mysterious idea which they see by faith alone.' The language is somewhat near to that used in H. 5. 5, 6; 'Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt:

10. Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant: sortium
consuetudo simplex. virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in
surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super
2 candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. mox, si pub-
lice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater
familiae, precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos
tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur.
3 si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consul-

2. est simplex C. 5. consuletur all, text Halm.

profanos, qui deum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant; summum illud et aeternum neque imitabile neque interiturum.' The association of such ideas with the solitude of a grove is described by Seneca (Ep. 41, 3); 'secretum loci et admiratio umbrae . . . fidem tibi numinis facit.' It is, however, extremely questionable whether the German religion was at that date as spiritual as Tacitus makes it.

1. **Auspicia sortesque.** These are distinguished in § 3, and the nature of both is explained in the chapter. The lot is here described as preliminary to divination.

ut qui maxime, 'they pay attention, as those do who pay most'; i.e. pay as much attention as any people. For a nearly similar ellipse, cp. 'te sic colam . . . ut quem maxime' (Cic. ad Fam. 13. 62); 'grata ea res ut quae maxime' (Liv. 5. 25, 9), &c.

sortium consuetudo simplex, 'the custom of casting lots is uniform.' Caesar does not describe the custom, but attests its existence (see notes below), and later evidence (see SS[2].) does not bear out the uniformity here affirmed.

2. **frugiferae**, probably such trees as the elder, juniper, beech, or oak. There is thus no contradiction to c. 5, 1.

in surculos amputant, 'cut up into small wands.'

3. **notis**, 'characters': the context would show that these were 'runae,' or mysterious marks, whether initial letters of significant words or other symbols intelligible to the person consulting.

super candidam vestem, 'on a white cloth' (so 'vestis' in c. 40, 2, 5). SS. shows this to be part also of later ritual in casting lots.

4. **temere ac fortuito**, 'at random, and as they chance to fall': the first has chiefly a subjective, the latter an objective meaning, but they are practically synonyms: so 'nec temere nec casu' (Cic. N. D. 2. 2, 6); 'forte ac temere' (Sen. Ben. 1. 15, 1).

publice, 'for the community,' in contrast to 'privatim' ('for individuals').

5. **consultetur**, so read on the ground that the subjunct. of habitual action is required, as in c. 7, 1; 17, 1, &c. 'Consulatur' is read by Rhen., &c.

sacerdos civitatis. On the German priests, see c. 7, 2, &c. There may have been several in each 'civitas,' but probably some one was preeminent, as we hear later (Amm. 28. 5, 14) of a permanent chief priest entitled 'sinistus' ('eldest') among the Burgundians. Such an office would be of great importance for preserving tribal worship, and thereby tribal unity. It may probably have been once identical with the kingly office, as in some cases it continued to be (see on c. 44, 3).

pater familiae. The divination practised by 'matres familiae,' mentioned by Caesar (see on c. 7, 2), was also accompanied by the use of lots.

6. **ter singulos tollit**, 'takes up three, one at a time.' Caesar gives the account of a captive (1. 53, 7) 'de se ter sortibus consultum . . . utrum . . . necaretur, an . . . reservaretur.' A later instance is given by Alcuin of a king, who 'per tres dies semper tribus vicibus sortes suo more mittebat.'

7. **interpretatur**, 'reads their meaning,' according to the rules of oracle lore.

8. **prohibuerunt**, used of the 'sortes' as of evil omens in Roman augury.

nulla . . . consultatio (sc. 'sortium').

tatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. et
illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque in-
terrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac
monitus experiri. publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, 4
candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro
curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hin-
nitusque ac fremitus observant. nec ulli auspicio maior fides, 5
non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres; sacerdotes enim

3. equorum que C, text B b c. 6. hinnitus et C, hinnitusque ac B b. 8. sed C, om. B b c. apud sacerdotes; se enim all, text Wölfflin.

At Rome the divination might be repeated 'ad libitum.'

in eundem diem, sc. 'spectans.'

1. **auspiciorum**, &c., 'the confirmation (cp. 'dictis fides exstitit,' Liv. 10. 34, 14) of auspices is yet further (cp. c. 19, 3; 29, 3) demanded' (c. 14, 4).

2. **etiam hic notum**, generally taken to mean 'is also known in Rome,' in contrast to 'proprium gentis'; but as Tacitus would hardly state so obvious a fact, it is probable that 'hic' means 'in Germany,' and is used (as in c. 3, 3) because 'illud' had immediately preceded. The antithesis in thought would still remain: 'it is known among them also how to divine from birds; but their distinctive practice is,' &c.

voces volatusque, 'their note, and the direction of their flight.'

3. **proprium gentis.** It was apparently also known to Aryan-speaking peoples in the east; as Hdt. describes similar sacred white horses among the Persians (1. 189, 1; 7. 40, 5), and an augury from neighing (3. 86, 1).

4. **isdem**, those mentioned above (c. 9, 3); local abl. as 'isdem castris' (Agr. 25, 1), 'isdem hibernis' (H. 1. 55, 3), and many other analogous expressions, mainly derived from poets.

5. **et nullo**, rather stronger than 'neque ullo': cp. c. 20, 5; 28, 1, &c.

mortali, 'human': cp. c. 21, 2; Agr. 11, 1, &c.

contacti, 'defiled'; so 'nullis contacta vitiis pectora' (Dial. 12, 2).

pressos, 'yoked'; so (with 'iugo') in Ovid (Met. 1, 124; 12, 77, &c.).

6. **princeps civitatis.** This expression, like 'sacerdos civitatis' above, seems not merely equivalent to 'principum aliquis,' but to denote some one person answering to the king in kingless states, as also a 'princeps Chattorum' (see note on Introd. p. 19) seems spoken of as if he was one, and not merely one of many; but the authority of Caesar, borne out by much later evidence also (see on Introd. p. 20, note 1), would go to show that many such states had no single ruler in peace time. It has been thought that the 'princeps' of the most prominent 'pagus' had some preeminence; it is possible also that in many states constant war with Rome, or the fear of it, had made the 'dux' (c. 7, 1) more permanent; possibly also, in states normally under kings, where no fit person of such commanding lineage as to deserve the title (see c. 7, 1) existed, a 'Fürst' was sometimes chosen instead from some wider area, differing from him in little but title. We have again 'rex vel princeps' in c. 11, 5, and it seems probable that 'princeps' is used for the ruler of the state in c. 5, 4; 15, 2; 22, 3.

hinnitusque, &c.: probably it was a good omen if they neighed, and a bad one if they did not.

8. **sed**, inserted by most edd., as Tacitus, though he often, after 'non solum' or 'non modo,' omits either 'sed' (A. 3. 19, 2, &c.) or 'etiam' (A. 1. 60, 1, &c.), never elsewhere omits both. If, however, the reading 'apud sacerdotes' be retained, the emphatic climax makes the omission more tolerable.

proceres, probably a wider term than 'principes': see Introd. p. 20, note 5.

sacerdotes enim, so Halm, Z., Pramm., after Wölfflin, supplying a general subject for 'putant': the MSS. text would oblige us to supply 'sacer-

ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. est et alia obser-
vatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant.
6 eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo inter-
ceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis,
committunt: victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

11. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus
omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbi-
2 trium est, apud principes praetractentur. coëunt, nisi quid
fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur

1. istos B b[1], illos C c b[2]. 2. exploratur B b[2], explorantur b[1], text C c. 8. pertractentur B b C[1] H M S, text C[2] c. 9. inchoatur b[1] C H and Halm, text B b[2] c (see c. 30, 1).

dotes' as subject, which is somewhat awkward, unless, as has been suggested, the 'sed' is placed after 'proceres.'

1. **illos**, 'the horses.'

conscios, 'acquainted with their counsels,' contrasted with 'ministros' ('merely servants').

est et alia. This tentative duel must not be confounded with the custom of ordeal of battle by an accused.

2. **explorant**, so most edd.: SS. and SS[2]. read 'exploratur.'

3. **gentis**, probably here of other German tribes, as in c. 1, 1, 30, 2, &c., not as in c. 2, 5.

5. **committunt**, 'set to fight,' an expression from the gladiatorial arena, especially frequent in Suet.

praeiudicio, 'an anticipatory judgement,' by the gods who were conceived as presiding both over the duel and the coming battle.

6. **minoribus . . . maioribus.** On the latter, see Introd. p. 23. Z. thinks that the 'minores res,' which the 'principes' could decide alone, included such matters as land transfer and manumission: but these seem rather to belong to local assemblies.

principes: see on c. 5, 4; 10, 4. It is best to suppose that the local magistrates (see c. 12, 3) collectively are here meant, and that the same are spoken of in cc. 13, 14 (where see notes). On their functions generally, see Introd. p. 21. The body here described, is that of a senate or βουλή, before which measures to be submitted to the popular vote are previously discussed (see Introd. l. l. and pp. 18, 23). In later times the witangemôt or assembly of the wise consists of 'ealdormen' and others of similar rank.

7. **ea**, &c., i. e. the 'res maiores.'

plebem (cp. c. 10, 5; 12. 3), the mass of freemen ('ingenui,' c. 25, 3; 44, 4), and also probably all 'nobiles' who are not 'principes,' who compose the 'concilium' (cp. c. 12, 1; H. 4. 64, 1), answering to the ἀγορή, ἐκκλησία, or comitia (see Introd. pp. 18, 23). The old German term for a gathering is 'thing' or 'ding,' and the Anglo-Saxon 'mōt' (Engl. 'meet,' 'meeting'). On those of the Gauls, see Caes. 6. 20.

8. **praetractentur** ('are discussed beforehand'); so Halm, Mr., Pramm. This verb would be ἅπ. εἰρ; the analogous 'praeiuvisse' in H. 3. 65, 2, is generally rejected; and the alternative 'pertractentur' has here better MS. authority. On the other hand, Tacitus elsewhere coins compounds of 'prae' (see Dräger, Synt. und Stil § 249), and the meaning given here is very apposite to the context.

9. **certis diebus.** It is thought that there is here some confusion between the greater, or general, and the lesser, or more local councils, and that it must have been the latter that met thus frequently; the former, unless specially summoned ('nisi quid,' &c.), being probably not gathered oftener than two or three times a year. It is possible that these also, whenever they met, chose a time of new or full moon.

cum aut incohatur, &c.: they chose the most natural measure of time, and reckoned the intervals by 'fortnights' (see below). The new moon was also

luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi **3**
conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. ut turba placuit, considunt armati. silentium per **4**
sacerdotes, quibus tum et coërcendi ius est, imperatur. mox **5**
rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. si displicuit sen- **6**
tentia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt: honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare.

6. turbe or turbae all, text J. F. Gron. 7. tamen B b M, cum C, tum c H.

regarded by Germans as an auspicious time for battle (Caes. 1. 50, 5), and for many other things, as was also the full moon (see Pramm.).

1. **agendis rebus.** Tacitus uses the gerundive dative of purpose dependent on adjectives only here in his minor works, that dependent on verbs twice (Agr. 23, 1; 31, 3): both usages are very common in the Annals.

2. **noctium.** Caesar says the same of the Gauls (6. 18, 2), and a similar practice is shown from words in Sanscrit and other ancient Aryan languages, and we have its survival in our 'sennight,' 'fortnight.'

3. **sic constituunt, sic condicunt,** 'so run their appointments, their contracts': the latter verb is especially a technical term of jurists, the former is also used by them.

nox ducere diem. The idea of day as the offspring of night is noted as common to many old mythologies. Cp. the address to the sun in Soph. Trach. 94 ὃν αἰόλα νὺξ ἐναριζομένα τίκτει.

4. **ex libertate vitium.** In H. 4. 76, 3, Tutor is made to say 'Germanos . . non iuberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere.'

ut iussi, 'as if commanded to attend.' To the regular ('ungebotene') 'concilia,' no summons was issued: even at those specially summoned ('gebotene') attendance was optional to those not specially concerned.

6. **ut turba placuit** (so most recent edd.), 'when the crowd is thought sufficient': cp. 'ubi satis placuere vires' (Liv. 39. 30, 8), 'cum res suae placuissent' (Id. 33. 31, 6). Z. and others retain the MS. 'turbae,' with the sense of 'when the mass are pleased to begin.' In this and what follows the greater 'concilia' seem clearly spoken of.

armati. This custom (cp. c. 13, 1; 22, 1, &c.) obtained also among the Gauls (Caes. 5, 56; Liv. 21. 20, 1), but was prohibited in German mediaeval laws. Armed assemblies such as Tacitus describes are still to be seen in some parts of Switzerland: see Introd. p. 32.

per sacerdotes. SS[2]. cites evidence to show that the prominence of the priest at the councils survived in Norway during Christian times. They were especial guardians of the sacred truce observed at such times ('Thingfriede').

7. **tum,** implying that they had not such power at all times (cp. c. 7, 2). A breach of the peace was regarded as a sin against the gods.

8. **prout aetas, &c.** This can hardly apply to the king (whose claim to be heard could not depend on his age or nobility), but might be taken with 'princeps' in the sense of 'principum aliquis.' It is perhaps better to restrict 'princeps' as in c. 10, 4, and to suppose 'ceteri' to be here supplied from the sense.

9. **decus bellorum**: cp. c. 32, 2.

auctoritate . . . potestate (modal abl.), contrasted with 'coërcendi ius' above.

11. **concutiunt,** 'they clash' (so used of clapping the hands by Ov. and Sen).

12. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen
capitis intendere. distinctio poenarum ex delicto. proditores
et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et
corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mer-
2 gunt. diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera
ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. sed et
levioribus delictis pro modo poena: equorum pecorumque

1. consilium C c. 7. poenarum (pen-) all, text Acid.

Such applause is noted in H. 5. 17, 5, and, as a Gallic custom, by Caesar (7. 21, 1).

1. **Licet . . . accusare quoque,** i.e. the 'concilium' has judicial as well as deliberative functions. He speaks exclusively of grave criminal charges, first of such as would involve capital punishment, then of others (§ 2); but it is not clear whether he means that such could also be brought, at the option of the accuser, before the local tribunals. The expression 'iura reddunt' (§ 3) seems to speak rather of the function of the latter as that of civil jurisdiction. In later times the chief judicial centre is the 'hundred' (see Introd. p. 23).

2. **intendere,** 'to threaten,' so with 'accusationem' (A. 6. 4, 2), 'crimen' (Liv. 9. 26, 11), &c.

distinctio, &c., 'penalties are distinguished according to (c. 3, 4) the crime.' It is probable that specimens only are given. Other punishments in time of war are noted (c. 7, 2), and there was also for the escaped criminal that of outlawry, in which he was liable to be hunted down as a wolf.

proditores et transfugas, 'traitors and deserters'; those who betrayed them to the enemy or went over to him.

3. **arboribus.** It is noted that particular, especially leafless trees, were chosen for the purpose, and that the execution was a sacrificial act. Cp. the old Roman law 'infelici arbore reste suspendito' (Liv. 1. 26, 6).

ignavos et imbelles, 'weaklings and cowards.' The words are so coupled in c. 31, 2; Agr. 15, 3; Liv. 26. 2, 11; and are nearly synonymous; the former being opposed to 'fortis' or 'strenuos' (Agr. 30, 2; A. 2. 46, 4), and the latter being also used of cowards (H. 4. 80, 3, &c.), often merely of non-combatants (A. 4. 49, 3; 13. 54, 2; 56, 6 &c.). It is obvious that all cowardice was not thus punished (cp. c. 6, 6; 14, 2, &c.); the meaning is that when the extreme penalty was inflicted (perhaps especially in the case of defaulters from military service), it took this form.

4. **caeno ac palude,** 'in mire and swamp.' SS. notes also traces of early German custom of putting women to death by drowning in such places.

iniecta crate. This mode of drowning is given by Livy in a tradition respecting Tarquinius Superbus (1. 51, 9), and called 'novum genus leti.' He gives another instance in 4. 50, 4; and it is represented also as used by Carthaginians (Plaut. Poen. 5. 2, 65). 'Insuper' seems here best taken to mean 'overhead,' as perhaps in c. 16, 4.

5. **illuc respicit, tamquam,** 'looks to the distinction that'; cp. the similar sentence in c. 39, 4, and the frequent use of 'tamquam' to express the ground assigned for an action by the agents or attributed to them (c. 20, 4; 22, 3, &c.).

scelera . . . . flagitia. These terms are often not distinguished, but the latter is especially used of self outrage (cp. A. 15. 37, 8; 16. 19, 5, &c.), and would thus especially apply to the 'corpore infames,' and possibly to the coward as distinct from the traitor. The 'scelera' are here especially offences against the 'patria.'

6. **sed et** = 'sed etiam.' This passage is a note, like that in c. 3, 1.

7. **levioribus.** These include homicide (c. 21, 1).

pro modo, sc. 'delicti' ('proportional'). All recent edd. read 'poena': the word has here the force of 'multa'; and old German laws show an elaborate system of such compositions for offences.

numero convicti multantur. pars multae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. eliguntur **3** in isdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt; centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

13. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque

2. uindicavit B b^1, text C c b^2. 8. cum B b^1 c^2 S, tum C c^1 b^2 H.
9. propinquvs (v corr. from i) C, propinquus c H M, text B b S.

equorum pecorumque: on these as a medium of exchange, see note on c. 5, 2.

1. **regi vel civitati.** The latter term applies to states without kings. This payment was in recognition of the breach of the peace.

2. **vel propinquis.** This would be the case when the injured person had been killed (c. 21, 1).

eliguntur, &c., 'in the same assemblies are chosen those presidents who decide suits in districts and villages.' Cp. 'principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt (Caes. 6. 23, 5), and on the whole subject of these magistrates or 'ealdormen,' see Introd. pp. 21, 23. On the German 'pagi' and 'vici' see Id. p. 22, foll. From the mention of 'centeni comites' below, it has been thought that here, as perhaps also in c. 6, 5, and also in the mention of the 'centum pagi' of the Semnones (c. 39, 4), some account of an already existing institution of 'hundreds' has been misunderstood by Tacitus or his informants; that the 'pagus' was the 'hundred,' that its 'princeps' had some title derived from his office,' and that his assessors were in some way representative of the body, or possibly not one hundred persons, but the 'concilium' of the 'hundred' as such, i. e. all its fully qualified members. On this and other views, see SS., SS^2., Z., and Introd. p. 23.

3. **iura reddunt**: cp. A. 6. 11, 1; 12. 43, 2; 13. 51, 1. Some would read 'reddant,' which would mean that they were appointed for this purpose.

4. **consilium simul et auctoritas**, 'as advisers and with power to decide.' Their verdict was binding on the president, as that of Roman 'iudices' on the praetor.

6. **Nihil autem**, &c. The conjunction connects the thought with the 'considunt armati' of c. 11, 4, and the remark here leads naturally to the following subject. The use of arms in daily life is noticed also among the Celts (Posidonius in Ath. 4. 40, 154), and the Homeric Greeks (cp. Thuc. 1. 6, 1).

7. **arma sumere**, analogous to 'togam virilem sumere.' In later times German youths were invested with the sword, as here with shield and spear.

moris (sc. 'est'), so in c. 21, 3, &c. for 'mos est': for the use of the genit. cp. c. 6, 6.

8. **civitas**, 'the community,' as in c. 8, 1; 10, 4.

suffecturum, 'as likely to be competent'; so used with dat. of the thing (H. 4. 8, 2, &c.), for which 'armis' is here supplied.

9. **vel principum aliquis**, &c. This would naturally mean one of the magistrates, or 'ealdormen' (c. 12, 3), and it is best so to take the term throughout these two chapters, and to suppose that all such could have a 'comitatus.' Tacitus appears to mean that, ordinarily speaking, the youth was admitted to bear arms by his father, or, in case of his death, by the nearest relations, but that sometimes he was admitted by a 'princeps'; this being a special distinction and (according to the best view of the passage below) carrying with it

iuvenem ornant: haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae.
2 insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites

3. dignitatem B b, dignationem C c H. 4. ceteris all, ceteri Lips.

the admission to his 'comitatus.' Many have noted the resemblance to mediaeval knighthood.

1. **haec . . . toga** (sc. 'virilis'). Tacitus is contrasting this public act (cp. 'in ipso concilio' above) with the Roman private ceremonies of the 'tirocinium,' which, however, was accompanied by a 'deductio in forum.'

2. **honos**, 'gift of honour,' cp. c. 15, 2.

ante hoc, &c.: it was in fact an act of emancipation 'e manu patris,' but probably the full rights of a freeman were confined to landholders. The Roman 'toga virilis' gave no emancipation.

3. **insignis nobilitas**, &c. The reading and interpretation of this passage are much disputed. As regards this sentence, 'dignitatem' has good MS. authority, but 'dignationem' is very generally read. The latter word has always elsewhere in Tacitus, and also in most other authors, much the same force as the former, and denotes a person's rank or position, or the consideration in which he is held: cp. c. 26, 1; 'inponere imperatoris dignationem' (H. 1. 52, 7), &c. The meaning would thus be 'distinguished rank or great services of parents award to some even as striplings (stronger than 'iuvenem' above) the position of a prince' (cp. 'imperium adsignabunt,' H. 1. 30, 7). The difficulty of connecting the sentence thus interpreted with the following words (see note below), added to that of supposing that 'adolescentuli' could become 'principes' in any such sense as that given above (§ 1), has led others to take 'principis dignationem' to mean 'the esteem, or approval of a prince,' i.e. that on such grounds a prince sometimes selects even striplings, whom he himself invests with arms (see above), and whom he at once enrols among his 'comites.' This sense of 'dignatio,' though otherwise foreign to Tacitus, seems borne out by such passages as 'tanta dignatione dilexit' (Suet. Cal. 24), 'in summa dignatione regis vixit' (Just. 3. 28, 10), and certainly makes the whole passage much clearer, though we should perhaps expect some other verb than 'adsignant,' in the sense of 'bespeak.'

4. **ceteris**, &c. With the interpretation preferred above, this would mean that those whom the 'princeps' honours even as striplings with admission to his 'comitatus,' are grouped with the older members of it, and are not ashamed, in spite of their high parentage, to serve in its rank and file. Those who take the other interpretation of 'principis dignationem' would either explain these words as meaning that the 'adolescentuli,' though already ranked as 'principes,' are not at once actual leaders, but serve for a time in the ranks (a meaning hard to get out of the words), or would (as Halm, Mr., Pramm. and others) adopt Lipsius' reading 'ceteri,' with the meaning that those 'tirones' who were not so exceptionally ranked as 'principes,' 'are grouped with riper and tried warriors,' join themselves to the 'comitatus' of some chief. But we should rather suppose that those invested with arms by the parent or guardian were enrolled in the 'cuneus' of the family or clan (c. 7, 3). Several other alterations of the text have been suggested.

5. **nec rubor** = 'nec rubori,' poet. for 'nec dedecus': cp. 'nec rubor est emisse' (Ov. A. A. 3, 167), and Peterson's note on Dial. 37, 1. This sentence supports the reading 'ceteris,' as it would most naturally refer to persons of high birth. If 'ceteri' be read, there would be here no special reference to the 'adolescentuli,' but a general remark, with an implied contrast to the position of a client at Rome, so often described as humiliating. The subject of the 'comitatus' extends to the end of c. 14.

adspici. gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, iudicio eius 3
quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus
primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi
et acerrimi comites. haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper 4
electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello
praesidium. nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas
quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute
comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et mune-
ribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

14. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci,
turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. iam vero 2
infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi
suo ex acie recessisse: illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque
fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum
est: principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. si 3
civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique

4. haec uires b[1] C. 8. expectur C. 13. illum tueri Wölfflin, et tueri Meiser. 14. eius om. b.

1. **gradus,** 'there are ranks within the train of followers, assigned by the judgement of its leader.'

2. **quibus,** sc. 'sit'; so 'sint' is supplied with 'cui' below; and in other places in indirect questions (A. 1. 11, 2; 16, 5, &c.).

5. **decus . . praesidium,** answering to 'dignitas' and 'vires' above.

6. **cuique,** sc. 'principi' (not taken with 'sua').

7. **id . . . . ea,** explained by 'si,' &c., the apodosis to which is 'nomen and gloria.'

8. **comitatus,** probably best taken as nominative; the subject of 'expetuntur' being supplied from 'cuique.'

9. **plerumque,** 'often.'

profligant, 'decide the issue of': so 'profligaverat bellum Iudaicum Vespasianus' (H. 2. 4, 5); 'qui proelia profligarent' (A. 14. 36, 3).

10. **turpe principi,** &c.: these sentiments are illustrated by SS. and Z. from passages in the Nibelungenlied and other old poems.

11. **iam vero,** 'furthermore': the expression is used to introduce a new and stronger statement (Agr. 9. 3; 21, 2; H. 1. 2, 4, &c.). Here 'infame . . . probrosum' are more forcible than 'turpe.'

12. **superstitem,** &c. Ammianus states (16. 12, 60) that the 200 'comites' of Chnodomar, king of the Alemanni, on his surrender to Julian, gave themselves up to be bound, 'flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere vel pro rege non mori.' Instances of a similar fellowship are found among the Aquitani of Gaul (Caes. 3. 22) and Celtiberi (Val. Max. 2. 6, 11). See also Freeman, Growth of English Const. p. 42.

14. **praecipuum sacramentum,** 'is their most sacred plighted allegiance'; so 'praecipuum' in c. 6, 6; 7, 3; 35, 4. SS[2]. shows traces of such an oath in old German words.

16. **plerique,** 'many.' These noble youths seem to answer to those described in c. 13, 2; but the words still leave it open whether they are leaders of a 'comitatus' or seek to be enrolled as 'comites,' whether they are the subject implied in 'tueare,' or spoken of in 'exigunt.' According to the interpretation preferred in the above place, the latter view would be taken.

nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt magnumque comitatum non nisi
4 vi belloque tueare: exigunt enim *a* principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam; nam epulae et quamquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. materia munificentiae per
5 bella et raptus. nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

15. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus,

1. cum C. 4. tuentur B b, text all others. a, add. Acid.

1. **nationes**, probably other Germans: cp. c. 2, 5.

3. **ancipitia**, 'perils'; so in H. 3. 40, 3; A. 14. 22, 4, &c.

clarescunt, 'become renowned,' so in H. 2. 53, 1; A. 4. 52, 2; 11. 16, 5. The sense seems taken from Lucretius.

4. **tueare**, with indefinite subject, as 'instes,' (c. 6, 6): 'tuentur' (read by K., Mf., and Pramm.) has good MS. support, but the change of subject with 'exigunt' would be harsh.

exigunt, sc. 'comites,' implied in 'comitatus': the gifts are a condition of taking service. The preposition 'a' is inserted by most recent edd. after Acid.: cp. H. 2. 20, 2; A. 16. 16, 2, &c. In later times the horse and arms of the vassal are not a gift but a loan, returned to the lord on death (Kemble, i. 178), whence the modern custom of 'heriots' (Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. p. 25).

5. **illum**, 'the usual' or 'the much longed for.' There is no need to read 'ille,' . . . 'ille,' with Madvig.

bellatorem equum, from Verg. (G. 2, 145, &c.). Tacitus takes from poets many such adjectival uses of substantives, as 'imperator populus' (A. 3. 6, 2), 'mare Oceanus' (A. 1. 9, 6), &c. Also 'cruentam victricemque frameam' is the language of poetical anticipation.

6. **nam epulae**, &c. It seems necessary to take 'epulae et . . . apparatus' as a hendiadys for 'epularum apparatus' (cp. c. 23, 1; H. 1. 88, 4; 2. 62, 2; 3. 38, 2), and impossible to understand the latter word of the horse and arms above. The force of 'nam' must be to contrast 'stipendio' with 'liberalitas' and 'munificentia.' They expect from his bounty the horse and arms, for the feasts which he gives them, on a liberal though homely scale, are reckoned as mere pay. Some take it to mean 'they expect these gifts only, for they demand no pay beyond their sustenance.'

7. **munificentiae**, referring to 'liberalitas' above.

8. **annum** = 'annonam,' 'the yearly produce'; so in Agr. 31, 2 ('ager atque annus'), perhaps first in Lucan, as 'raptis annum flevere iuvencis' (3, 453), &c.

9. **persuaseris**: cp. 'tueare' above. The infin. with this verb is rare (Verg. G. 2, 315; Nep.; Sen.; Pliny ma.).

vocare hostem = 'provocare,' from Verg. G. 4, 76; cp. 'vocare offensas' (H. 4. 80, 3), &c.

mereri, 'to earn as a wage': cp. the description in c. 7, 4.

10. **quin immo**, in anastrophe, as in Dial. 6, 2; 39, 3: cp. 'quin etiam' (c. 3, 3, &c.), and others.

sudore . . . sanguine: the contrast is strengthened by the alliteration. Caesar says of the Germans (6. 23, 6), 'latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quae extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt'; but it is probable that Tacitus is thinking, in this whole passage, more of those enrolled in a 'comitatus' than of the race in general.

12. **Quotiens**, &c. The subject of the

plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus
quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et
penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo
cuique ex familia : ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum
idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. mos 2
est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armen-
torum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam neces-
sitatibus subvenit. gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium 3
donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur,

4. habent b C M, text B S. 8. gentium om. (but space left) C. 9. et om. C H M.

'comitatus' leads him to describe the mode of life generally.

non multum (sc. 'temporis,' cp. c. 22, 1). This statement is in direct and probably intentional contrast to Caes. 6. 21, 3 ('vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit'), contrary also to later German record, to the evidence of old laws, and to that suggested by the abundance of wild game in the forests (Caes. 6. 25, 5, foll.): also 'fera' is mentioned as an article of food below (c. 23, 1). It may yet be true that the great hunts were occasional and confined to princes and to those who lived near forests, and that the usual life of ordinary freemen in most parts may have been such as is here described. Some have followed Lips. in the violent remedy of striking out 'non.'

1. **dediti**, &c., a reminiscence of Sall. Cat. 2, 8 ('dediti ventri atque somno').

fortissimus, &c. in apposition to 'dediti.' The whole passage is somewhat disjointed, and differently stopped by edd. Some make 'fortissimus,' &c., repeated in 'ipsi,' the subject of 'hebent.'

2. **delegata . . . cura**, best taken as abl. abs.

3. **penatium**, in a sense borrowed from Roman ideas, 'hearth and home' (cp. c. 25, 1; 32, 4; 46, 3), domestic regulation as distinct from housework ('domus': cp. c. 25, 1).

4. **familia**, not here as in c. 25, 1, but of members of the family generally (c. 7, 3).

ipsi, 'the masters.'

hebent: cp. 'torpeat' (c. 14, 3), 'torpor' (c. 46, 1), and the adj. 'hebes ad sustinendum laborem' (H. 2. 99, 2); also 'sanguis hebet' (Verg. Aen. 5, 396).

mira diversitate. The abl. may be taken as causal, or as an abl. abs. with the sense of a participle of 'esse' supplied. The reaction noticed is common to many or most rude races.

5. **inertiam**, 'indolence,' in contrast to 'quietem' ('peace with others').

mos est, &c. The gifts from the German people to their princes (here apparently the magistrates of the state, including kings where they existed) are in idea voluntary ('ultro'), but pass in later times into a customary and thence compulsory tribute. Cp. the Homeric θέμιστες (Il. 9, 156). Bp. Stubbs (p. 25) traces to these gifts the 'naturalia' of the Frankish kings.

6. **viritim**, 'severally,' each man contributing his share.

armentorum . . . frugum. The use of a partitive genit. without some such word as 'aliquid' (c. 18, 2), is unusual in Latin, but supported by SS. from Varr. R. 3, 46 ('apponendum bene olentium herbarum') and Appul. Met. 5 ('auri vel monilium dare'), and is regular and common in Greek. It is somewhat softened by the following 'quod.'

7. **pro honore**, 'as a gift of honour': cp. c. 13, 1.

9. **sed et**, so used in c. 35, 2; H. 1. 15, 3; A 14. 39, 1, for the usual 'sed etiam.' Haupt follows C. &c. in omitting 'et' (cp. c. 10, 5).

publice, 'by states as such': cp. H. 1. 51, 6; A. 4. 36, 2, &c.

electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque; iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

16. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. colunt discreti
2 ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus
3 casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. ne caemen-

6. longant B and prob. b[1], text b[2] (margin), &c.

1. **electi**, better than their own usually were (c. 6, 3).

magna arma. Some would read 'magnifica,' or even 'insignia'; but it is easy to take it to mean massive shields and cuirasses, suitable to their stature, possibly also huge offensive weapons, as spears and swords.

phalerae . . . torques. These embossed plates or discs and collars are often mentioned as military decorations of Roman soldiers (Juv. 16, 60, &c.).

iam et . . . docuimus, 'we have now even taught them' (cp. c. 42, 2), as a lesson of Roman avarice.

pecuniam. He is not here speaking of trade, as in c. 5, 5, but of bribes to princes in Roman interest, as spoken of in c. 42, 2; A. 11. 16, 3: cp. 'pecuniam et dona, quis solis corrumpantur' (H. 4. 76, 3). It has been thought that some such action on the part of Domitian may be here alluded to.

3. **populis**, dat. of agent, as in c. 31, 1, &c.

urbes: see Introd. p. 24.

4. **colunt**, &c. It is generally supposed that Tacitus means in this passage to speak of two modes of dwelling, the single houses altogether separate, and the villages of houses still detached but more or less closely grouped. There is reason to think that there were at this time two classes of villages, the dependent (c. 25, 1 and note) and the free (c. 26, 1 and note), and it is possible that what he speaks of first is in fact the former, but that the house of the lord, built where he chose, is alone mentioned (the huts of the serfs being sufficiently insignificant to be ignored), and that he then goes on to speak of the more important or free villages, which alone he would probably reckon as 'vici.' It would seem that all houses belonged in some sense to 'vici' as centres of justice (c. 12, 3).

discreti ac diversi, 'separated and in various places': cp. 'si . . . diversi inrupissent' (H. 3. 46, 3).

5. **ut fons**, &c. SS. notices the frequency in German names of such terminations as 'brunnen,' 'feld,' 'berg,' 'wald,' &c

vicos locant, 'they lay out their villages.' The description here given would mark a social stage far above that of Caesar's time, who makes the Germans (6. 22, 2) have no fixed dwellings at all (see on c. 26, 2). The account of Caesar was perhaps even then true only of some tribes of more wandering life. He is thought to have known most of the Suebi (see on c. 38, 1), whom he describes separately (4. 1–4).

7. **spatio**, 'a homestead,' garden, χορτός, 'hortus,' surrounded by a fence.

8. **remedium**, in apposition with the sentence.

inscitia (causal abl.), so with genit. in Agr. 28, 4, &c. A far more probable reason than either of these is to be found in the German love of independence. From these words he is led to speak of their mode of building.

caementorum . . . tegularum. This is confirmed by the absence of genuine German names for these and the use of words of Latin origin, as 'cement' and 'tile' ('Ziegel'). The primitive roof would be of straw or rushes, as was that of the Gauls (Caes. 5. 43, 1). 'Caementa,' rough stone (opp. to 'materia').

torum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad
omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem.
quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra ita pura ac splendente,
ut picturam ac liniamenta colorum imitetur. solent et sub- **4**
terraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant,
suffugium hiemis et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem fri-
gorum eius modi loci molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit,

4. lineamenta B C, liniamenta b c. caelorum C. imitentur c. 6. hyemi B C, hiemi b c, text Reifferscheid. 7. locis all, text Acid.

1. **materia**, 'timber'; so in A. 1. 35, 1 (where see note); Caes. 4, 17, 8, &c. 'Zimmer' (old German 'Zimbar') means both 'chamber' and 'timber.' Or. and others cite Herodian's account of German loghouse villages at the time of Maximin. The beehive shaped, thatched, windowless huts of the Marcomani and Quadi, represented on the Antonine column (Bartoli, pl. 9, 65, &c.), though evidently conventional, may correspond somewhat to the rudest actual type, such as the huts of serfs.

2. **informi**, uncouthly fashioned.

citra, 'falling short of.' The word is here equivalent to 'sine' (cp. 'citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti' Agr. 35, 2), and has often a similar force in silver Latin. See Peterson on Dial. 27, 2.

delectationem, 'comfort.'

3. **quaedam loca**, &c. This statement is very obscure, and would appear as if Tacitus was describing something which he imperfectly understood. It is not clear whether the colouring was on the exterior or interior surfaces, but it is most probable that the 'quaedam loca' were certain portions or chambers inside, and that these were plastered over with coloured earth or earths of such purity and brightness as to correspond in some sort to the Roman wall decorations (such as are seen at Pompeii). The 'earth' can hardly be (as some think) mere white chalk, which could hardly be said 'imitari picturam,' but is probably some kind of ochre, and of more than one colour, so arranged as to approach in some sort to a design. 'Imitari' has the sense of substitution, as in Verg. G. 3, 380; Aen. 11, 894, &c., and 'picturam' is not 'a picture' (in which sense 'picturas' would probably have been used) but 'the art of painting,' and is explained by 'liniamenta colorum' (= 'liniamenta colorata'). The whole may be translated 'some parts they plaster carefully with earth of such purity and brilliancy of hue as to form a substitute for painting and designs in colour.' None of the emendations proposed (as 'polituram' for 'picturam,' 'locorum,' 'corporum,' &c. for 'colorum') appear to be necessary.

4. **solent**, probably not with the same subject as 'inlinunt,' but rather 'there are some who' &c., like 'gerunt' (c. 17, 2). The ruder tribes of the north appear to be meant.

5. **specus**. Pliny (19. 1, 2, 9) speaks of such not as dwellings but spinning places ('in Germania defossi atque sub terra id opus agunt'), and old laws give evidence of such workplaces for women still existing in the middle ages (see Mf. cited by SS.), as well as storehouses. Subterranean dwellings for shelter in winter are described among other northern nations (cp. Verg. G. 3, 376), similar to the pit dwellings of which remains are found in England and elsewhere, or to those of the present Eskimaux.

insuper, either 'overhead' (c. 12, 1), or 'besides' (c. 31, 3; 45, 1).

6. **hiemis**, so most recent edd. (cp. c. 46, 4; A. 4. 66, 3). The MS. text 'hiemi' might possibly be taken (with K.) in the sense of 'hominibus hieme vexatis.' It is also possible that the true text is 'hieme.'

7. **loci**, used not of localities ('loca') but distinct spots, in A. 1. 61, 1, &c., also in Sall. and Liv.

advenit, best taken as perf. If it were present, the subjunct. of frequent action would be used.

aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

17. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. locupletissimi veste distinguntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente.
2 gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae neglegenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. eligunt

3. figula b. 7. ferunt B b[1], gerunt C c b[2].

2. **fallunt** = λανθάνει. The expression is somewhat rhetorical, and some (see Mr.) would alter it, but the meaning is that the enemy is either wholly unaware of the existence of such places or has not time to search for them.

3. **tegumen**, &c. The account in Tacitus of German dress would represent an advance since Caesar's time, who speaks of the Suebi (4. 1, 10) and the Germans generally (6. 21, 5) as having only a very scanty clothing of skins. The Marcomani and Quadi on the Antonine column are generally represented with 'braccae,' sleeved tunic, and 'sagum,' but sometimes one of the two latter is absent (see Bartoli's plates). Orelli cites from Sidonius (Epp. 4. 20) a minute account of the dress and arms of a train of German princes in the fifth century.

sagum (cp. c. 6, 2), said to be a Celtic word, and used by the Romans of the military cloak, a mantle clasped in front and leaving the arms free. A similar cloak of woven material was worn by many others, especially by Gauls, and was sometimes of various colours (H. 2. 20, 1; 5. 23, 1; Verg. Aen. 8, 660). The Scottish plaid and Spanish cloak are its survivals.

fibula; such clasps are always found in German tombs, and at a later date were often of costly workmanship. The expression 'tegumen spina consertum' is from Verg. Aen. 3, 594.

4. **cetera** (cp. c. 29, 3; 45, 9), taken closely with 'intecti' (on the probable reminiscence of Sall. see Introd. p. 13, note 1): cp. 'nudi aut sagulo leves' (c. 6, 2); 'nudis corporibus' (H. 2. 22, 2). It is at least meant that indoors they had no other clothing.

totos dies, &c. The halfclad Germans huddling all day round the fire are contrasted with the out-of-door life of the Italians.

5. **locupletissimi**, &c. This sentence seems plainly in contrast to 'tegumen omnibus sagum,' and to mean that the sleeved tunic and 'braccae' were confined to the rich. Recent edd. generally follow Mf. in taking it to mean that the rich were distinguished, not by having such underclothing (which all had), but by its stuff and quality. This meaning seems against the sense of the passage as a whole, though, no doubt, more in accordance with the facts (see note on l. 3). Among the Gauls at the time of the second Punic war, some went to battle without such clothing, but voluntarily and out of bravado (Polyb. 2. 28, 8, 30).

6. **stricta**, close-fitting: see the quotation given by Or. from Sidonius.

exprimente, showing the shape of.

7. **gerunt et**, 'there are those also who wear.' This, which is stated by Caesar to be the universal clothing of the nation (see on § 1), seems here spoken of as not worn by all, but as found among the nearer as well as the more distant tribes. It is possibly meant that it formed the outdoor underclothing of those who could not afford the 'vestis.' Cp. Vergil's description of northern nations (G. 3, 383): 'pecudum fulvis velantur corpora saetis.'

ripae, sc. 'Romanae,' that of the Rhine or Danube.

8. **exquisitius**, explained by 'eligunt.' They care more about the skins which they wear, as they are less able to get any other material. Possibly the

feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque be-
luarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit.
nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius **3**
lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque
vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia
ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet. quamquam **4**
severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis
laudaveris. nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus
contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine,
sed ob nobilitatem pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.

9. ob libidinem C. 10. plurimis all, text Halm. ambiunt H.

ruder tribes could not then weave for themselves.

ut quibus, &c. 'as those do who have,' &c. Cp. the similar ellipse in c. 22, 1; and the use of 'ut' in c. 2, 4, &c. For the sense of 'cultus,' cp. c. 6, 2.

1. **detracta**, sc. 'feris': for 'velamina,' 'vellera,' or 'velumina' have been suggested.

maculis pellibusque, hendiadys for 'maculatis pellibus.' They sew on patches of other speckled hides, probably of sealskins. Cp. 'sparsitque coloribus alas' (Verg. Aen. 7, 191).

2. **exterior Oceanus**, explained by 'ignotum mare'; probably the Baltic is meant. The traders in this region would be the Suiones of c. 44, 2.

3. **habitus**, so used of clothing in Agr. 21, 3; A. 1. 69, 5, &c.

4. **amictibus**, distinguished by some from 'vestitus,' as the 'sagum' from the 'vestis,' but more probably intended as a general term to mean that the material of their clothing, as a whole, was flax (that of the men being probably woollen). That the Germans spun flax at this time is attested by Pliny (19. 1, 2, 8), and implements for spinning and weaving are as old in Europe as the Swiss lake-dwellings (Taylor, p. 171).

purpura, a border or stripes of some colour resembling purple dye.

5. **vestitus**, the tunic, as distinct from the 'braccae'; 'superioris' by enallage (cp. c. 27, 2) for 'superiorem partem,' the part to which sleeves would be attached in the case of the men. Such seems to be the contrast best suited to the passage, though SS[2]. takes the comparison to be rather with the 'stola' of Roman women. On the Antonine column the women are represented with an undergarment reaching to the feet, and a short tunic over it. This tunic has usually long sleeves, but in some instances (see Bartoli, pl. 17, 49, 63) exactly answers to the description here given.

brachia ac lacertos, the fore-arm and arm.

6. **sed et**: cp. c. 8, 3.

quamquam, i. e. although their clothing may seem barely decent, their chastity is remarkable. This forms the transition to a new subject. This word is so used in the principal sentence with the force of 'however' in Dial. 28, 3; 33, 5.

8. **prope soli barbarorum.** This statement is somewhat bold and does not hold good of all Germans. SS. shows that polygamy was not forbidden by their ancient laws, nor unusual in north Germany, besides being exceptionally practised elsewhere, as Tacitus notes.

9. **exceptis**, &c., as an instance, Ariovistus had two wives (Caes. 1. 53, 4).

libidine, causal abl. answering to 'ob nobilitatem.'

10. **pluribus**, 'more than one': most edd. retain 'plurimis' ('several').

ambiuntur, so 'conubiis ambire' (Verg. Aen. 7, 333); 'auxiliis ambiri' (H. 4. 51, 2). Here it is used with 'libidine' by zeugma, in the sense of 'plures uxores habent.'

18. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert.
intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera
non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta
comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea
2 gladioque. in haec munera uxor accipitur, atque in vicem
ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert: hoc maximum vinculum,
3 haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. ne se
mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus
putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire
se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proe-
lio passuram ausuramque: hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus,
4 hoc data arma denuntiant. sic vivendum, sic pereundum:

2. ac propinqui b. ac munera om. Lachmann, munera om. Haase. 6. hoc B b, hec C c. 9. incipientibus b. 12. pariendum B c H M, periendum C, pereundum b.

1. **Dotem**, &c. Tacitus is here carried away by the apparent contrast to Roman custom. The nature of the actual gifts goes to show (what is fully confirmed by other evidence), that they were not a dowry to the wife, but a gift (like the Homeric ἔδνα) to her parents, purchasing her, or, more properly, purchasing the 'patria potestas' ('mundwalt,' in mediaeval Latin 'mundium') over her. The Gallic women had 'dos,' and a kind of settlement in marriage (Caes. 6. 19, 1).

2. **intersunt parentes**, &c. The family was summoned to approve the betrothal and delivery of the wife.

munera probant, 'examine and accept the gifts.' The repetition of 'munera' is considered by some an error of the scribe; the anaphora of substantives being rare in Tacitus, and confined to contrasted parallel sentences (Dial. 13, 2; A. 1. 7, 7; 59, 1; 4. 74, 3). A precisely similar repetition of 'munera' is found in Propert. 1. 3, 25.

3. **non ad**, &c., i. e. not jewels, nor articles of the toilet.

4. **boves**, &c. These are paid as value, as in the case of fines (c. 12, 2), &c.

5. **in haec munera**, 'with a view to ('under condition of') these gifts.' This force of 'in' is seen in some passages of Livy, as 'in has . . . leges . . . ictum foedus' (23. 34, 1); also 34. 35, 1; 42. 62, 5.

6. **ipsa . . . adfert**. This again is not accurate. Records of ancient marriage customs show that a sword, &c., was given to the bridegroom, not by the bride, but by her father or guardian, partly as a valuable present, but chiefly, it would seem, as a symbol to denote that she passed under his power.

7. **haec arcana sacra**, 'these as their mystic rites;' alluding to the Roman nearly obsolete (A. 4. 16, 2) ceremony of 'confarreatio.'

coniugales deos, as Hymenaeus, Juno pronuba, &c.; a long list is given in Preller, Römische Mythologie, ii. 214–219. The simple interchange of gifts stood to Germans instead of all this.

8. **extra virtutum**, &c. 'excluded from aspiring to share in manly heroic deeds.'

9. **auspiciis**, 'the initiatory ceremonies.'

11. **passuram**, 'destined to,' &c.: cp. 'perituri' (c. 40, 5), 'servituri' (Agr. 31, 1), 'morituro' (Hor. Od. 1. 28, 6).

12. **hoc . . . denuntiant**, 'give this warning.' On the presence of women in war, see c. 7, 3. It has been shown above that these gifts have probably no such meaning.

sic vivendum, sc. 'esse'; i. e. in such indissoluble union.

sic pereundum, in case of defeat; so most edd. Some follow the majority of MSS. in reading 'pariendum'; which

accipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

19. Ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. paucissima in tam 2
numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa: abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit; pub-

1. reddat ac digna Acid. 2. rursus quae C c S, text B b H M. 7. adscisis B, accisis b c, accissis C, abscissis M, abscisis S.

suits the context, but weakens the contrast, unless it is preserved by altering 'vivendum' to 'nubendum,' with Bährens.

1. **accipere . . . accipiant**, repeated to denote the extension of duty. It is not, of course, the gifts themselves, but the idea conveyed by them, that is to be thus treasured and transmitted.

digna, not connected with the following 'quae,' but taken absolutely, in the sense of 'prizeworthy.'

quae, in double construction, as object of 'accipiant,' and subject of 'referantur.' Or. gives nearly similar instances from Sallust.

3. **Ergo**, i. e. because of the obligation accompanying these presents.

saepta, 'well-protected': cp. 'omnia pudore saepta' (Liv. 3. 44, 4).

agunt, 'se gerunt': cp. c. 29, 3; 46, 1, &c.

nullis, &c. 'with no shows to corrupt them by their allurements, no banquets by their incentives.' The corrupting influence of shows upon women is often noted: see Prop. 2. 19, 9; Ov. A. A. 1, 97–100; Juv. 11, 201; and many other passages collected in Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, i. 432, foll. The Roman banquets and their accompaniments are also often spoken of as demoralizing: cp. Ov. l.l. 229; Quint. 1. 2, 8; and other references in Friedl. l. l. 435, foll.

4. **litterarum secreta**, 'the secrecy of correspondence.' The allusion is plainly to the clandestine love-letters of Roman ladies (Juv. 6, 277); but it is perhaps pressing the words too far to make them mean that the art of writing was altogether unknown to Germans. Letters of their princes to the emperor or senate are spoken of in A. 2. 63, 1; 88, 1.

5. **in tam numerosa**, 'though the race is so numerous': cp. 'quamquam in tanto . . . numero' (c. 4, 2).

6. **praesens**, 'immediate'; so with 'supplicium' in A. 1. 38, 1.

7. **abscisis**; so Halm, Z., Mf., Mr.: 'accisis' is retained by others, with the sense of 'cut short.' Long hair was characteristic of Germans generally (see c. 38, 2), and especially of the women. Orelli cites old German laws attesting all these penalties, and others more severe, that of death (even by burning) being permissible. Unchastity among unmarried women could be similarly punished by the parent or guardian.

coram propinquis. These act as his assessors in the trial. A similar family tribunal to try the wife was recognized in Roman law even under the Empire, as is shown in the case of Pomponia Graecina (A. 13. 32, 3).

8. **publicatae enim**, &c. As the subsequent sentences still relate to married life, it would be supposed that he is here also speaking of the adulteress, and saying that she could never hope for a second marriage, which, if rich or beautiful, she might easily contract at Rome. This seems weak after what has gone before, whence it is better perhaps to suppose that he means here to speak, as it were parenthetically, of the unmarried. Those who so take it either omit or bracket 'enim,' or alter it to 'etiam,' or 'enim vero,' or give it an elliptical meaning: i. e. 'no wonder that the penalty for adultery is so severe, for unchastity generally (even among the unmarried) finds no pardon.' It would still appear that Tacitus was not fully aware of the severity of the penal-

licatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate,
3 non opibus maritum invenerit. nemo enim illic vitia ridet,
nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. melius quidem
adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et
4 cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. sic unum acci-
piunt maritum quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne
ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum,
5 sed tamquam matrimonium ament. numerum liberorum
finire aut quemquam ex adgnatis necare flagitium habetur,
plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

20. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec

2. invenit C c.

ties permitted in either case (see note above), or that they became more severe after his time.

1. **aetate**, 'youth': the ablatives are causal.

2. **invenerit**. The subject can be supplied from the sense.

3. **corrumpere et corrumpi**, so coupled in A. 14. 20, 5.

saeculum, 'the spirit of the age,' way of the world.

melius, sc. 'agunt': verbs of motion or action, as well as of speaking, are often omitted by Tacitus. Cp. Agr. 19, 2; 'vos quidem istud pro me' (H. 1. 84, 1) 'melius . . . ille' (A. 1. 43, 1), &c. 'Adhuc' adds force to the comparative ('better still'), as in c. 29, 3, and has often the sense of 'further' (cp. c. 10, 3), like ἔτι.

4. **in quibus**, &c. There is later evidence that among some the widow was expected to hang herself, or to burn on the husband's pile, like the Indian Suttee, and that the marriage of widows, even where not forbidden, was thought dishonourable. This is, of course, a still stronger contrast to Roman custom.

5. **spe votoque**, 'the hope and aspiration,' of married life.

semel transigitur, 'they have done with, once for all': cp. 'transigite cum expeditionibus' (Agr. 34, 4).

sic, answering to 'quomodo' ('so . . . as'), as in Agr. 34, 2; Dial. 36, 8; A. 4. 35, 3; 16. 31, 2, &c., and in Cic.

6. **ne**, sc. 'sit': cp. c. 13, 3, &c.

7. **ultra**, beyond one marriage.

ne tamquam, &c., 'that her love may be, as it were, not for the husband, but for the married state': that she should love her husband not merely as a man, but rather as elevating her to the permanent dignity of a matron. 'Tamquam' has constantly in Tacitus the force of ὡς, here rather that of ὡς εἰπεῖν, as qualifying a strong statement. Meiser would read 'tam maritum quam,' others omit the second 'tamquam.'

8. **numerum . . . finire**, 'to prevent an increase' (Juv. 6, 595).

9. **adgnatis**= ἐπιγόνοις, children born after there is already an heir: so in H. 5. 5, 5, where a similar prohibition among the Jews is mentioned. Tacitus appears here to overstrain the contrast; for it can be shown that the German father sometimes exercised power to kill, expose, or sell (cp. A. 4. 72, 4) his children. But no doubt the exposure of infants was much rarer than at Rome, perhaps especially rare among the best-known tribes, and, if not forbidden, contrary to sentiment.

10. **mores . . . leges**, so opposed in Hor. Od. 3. 24, 35. The German sanctity of custom is contrasted with the futility of such laws as the 'lex Papia Poppaea' at Rome (see A. 3. 26, 1, foll.). No written German laws appear to be certainly traceable earlier than the Salic of the fifth century.

11. **in omni domo**, even those of the wealthy classes. The subject of the bringing up of children is suggested by the last sentence of the preceding chapter.

nudi. The word is here more cap-

corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. sua quemque mater
uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. dominum **2**
ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem
pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos,
virtus adgnoscat. sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta **3**
pubertas. nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis
proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum
liberi referunt. sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud **4**

2. aut B b M, ac C H S. 3. dinoscas B C H M. 8. ad patrem B C c, apud patrem b.

able of a modified meaning than the 'cetera intecti' of c. 17, 1, but would be taken literally, or nearly so, if he is following Mela 3. 3 ('nudi agunt antequam puberes sunt: viri sagis velantur'), or perhaps as in c. 6, 2.

sordidi. Their persons, though washed (c. 22, 1), were unkempt as compared with Romans. K. takes both words of clothing ('half-clad and in rags').

hos . . . haec, explained by 'quae miramur.' They were often seen, whether as slaves or soldiers, at Rome: cp. 'procera membra' (A. 1. 64, 3), and other such expressions in H. 5. 18, 1; Caes. 1. 39, 1.

1. **excrescunt,** 'they grow out': cp. 'extrahunt' (c. 22, 1).

2. **nec ancillis,** &c., in strong contrast to the habits of fashionable ladies at Rome, who had abandoned the old Roman practice of personal nurture and supervision of children (see Dial. 28, 4; 29, 1; Agr. 4, 2, &c.).

delegantur, sc. 'infantes' (change of subject as in c. 18, 4). The same expression is used in Dial. 29, 1 ('at nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae'), and the word is a strong one (c. 15, 1).

3. **servum.** It is here admitted that there were slaves in the house: see c. 25, 1, and note.

educationis deliciis, 'luxuries of nurture': cp. 'infantiam deliciis solvimus' (Quint. 1. 2, 6). It is noted that this community of child life mitigated the condition of slavery. The wife herself was in a way bought (c. 18, 1), the children were 'in manu patris.'

4. **pecora.** These were under the same roof in the homestead.

aetas, that at which they receive arms (c. 13, 1).

5. **adgnoscat,** 'marks them as free'; a personification to signify that the free show themselves the better men.

sera, &c. Caesar mentions (6. 21, 4) the stress laid by Germans on youthful purity of life. Cp. Mela 3. 3, 26 ('longissima apud eos pueritia est').

inexhausta: cp. H. 5. 7, 4; Verg. Aen. 10, 174; probably not earlier in prose.

6. **festinantur,** often so used passively (as A. 6. 50, 6), or in the active transitively (as A. 1. 6, 4) by Tacitus, as also by poets and Sallust. Here it is a bold expression for 'festinanter collocantur' ('their marriage is not hurried'). It appears that German females were then considered marriageable at the age of fifteen, but even this stands in contrast to the contemporary Roman custom, in which girls were constantly betrothed in infancy, and married at the age of twelve or even earlier. See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, i. pp. 414, 504, foll. Later laws would show that marriage at twelve years old became afterwards permissible in Germany.

iuventa, 'youthful vigour.'

7. **pares validaeque,** 'pariter validae virgines miscentur,' sc. 'iuvenibus.'

8. **referunt,** 'repeat': cp. c. 43, 1; also 'invalidique patrum referant ieiunia nati' (Verg. G. 3, 128).

sororum filiis, &c. Among several peoples of Aryan speech (see SS².), in case of the death of a father, the son acquired 'tutela' over his sisters, if unmarried, and thus stood in a very close relation to their whole life, as shown by his Roman title, in respect to their

patrem honor. quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. quanto plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

21. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui

3. et in animum B b C c H[1], text M H[2], etiam animum Hold. 7. tanto maior B C, quo maior b[2] (in erasure) c, quanto maior, Halm. gratior B[2] c[2]. 9. seu . . . propinqui om. C.

children, as 'avunculus,' or 'avus minor.' It is worthy of notice that Civilis placed two sons of his sisters in high commands (H. 4. 33, 1; 5. 20, 1).

apud patrem. SS., SS[2]., Mf., and Pramm. read 'ad'; such preps. being often varied in Tacitus.

1. **quidam**, certain German tribes.

sanctiorem artioremque, i. e. that the mother's brother was a nearer relation even than the father. This idea seems clearly to be a survival from the primitive state of society called matriarchal, in which marriage was frequently polyandrous, and relationships and inheritance were reckoned through the mother, whose eldest brother had the rights of headship.

2. **exigunt**, 'insist on it,' i. e. on the delivery of hostages thus related to the contracting parties: 'magis' sc. 'quam filios.'

3. **tamquam**, 'on the ground that': cp. c. 12, 2.

latius, as embracing more relationships.

4. **heredes tamen**, i. e. this tie does not affect inheritance. In the term 'liberi' all direct descendants are included; but Tacitus does not distinguish between sons and daughters, the latter of whom took anciently no share, and subsequently but a small share of the inheritance. Nor does he state what took place if a man left daughters only, nor mention the father as heir to a childless son. Some custom of primogeniture is alluded to in c. 32, 4.

nullum testamentum. This is in accordance with Indian and other early usage, but in strong contrast to Roman law. 'It is doubtful whether a true power of testation was known to any original society except the Roman' (Maine, Anc. Law, p. 196), from whence it was subsequently introduced into Germany.

7. **quanto maior**; most edd. here follow Halm: 'tanto' is plainly corrupt, and 'quo' not supported by Tacitean usage: cp. Dial. 38, 2; A. 1. 81, 4; 4. 18, 1; 6. 34. 5.

gratiosior, 'in more esteem'; not elsewhere in Tacitus, but frequent in Cic. &c.

8. **nec ulla orbitatis pretia**, a great contrast to Rome, where the servility of legacy-hunters gave a great social power to those who were wealthy and childless. See Hor. 2. 5, 10, foll.; Juv. 4, 19; 12, 99, and many other references in note to A. 3. 25, 2, and in Friedl. i. p. 367, foll. 'Pretia' (cp. c. 24, 2), for the more usual 'orbitatis praemia' (Plin. Ep. 4. 15, 3).

9. **Suscipere**, &c. This subject and that of friendship connects itself with that of inheritance.

inimicitias, 'Fehden' ('feuds'). The duty of exacting blood vengeance ('Blutrache') for homicide devolved on the whole sept, and especially on the nearest of kin. It is found very generally in ancient institutions, is recognized even in the Mosaic code, and receives various restrictions and modifications from lawgivers, gradually passing into legal redress. SS[2]. notes that it is even now not altogether extinct among European peoples, as the Albanians.

quam amicitias necesse est; nec inplacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.
Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. 2
quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. nec interest: pari humanitate 3

5. aliqua B b. 7. defecerit c.

1. **necesse est**; it is enforced by German opinion and moral sentiment. With them the sacredness of the family tie and the promptness to resent injuries were exceptionally strong.

nec . . . durant, 'nor yet do they (the feuds) continue irreconcileable.' The reconciliation of homicide, as the greatest of feuds ('etiam homicidium'), implies that of those rising from lesser causes.

luitur, &c. It is thought by some that the acceptance of this satisfaction was not compulsory upon the relatives of the slain; and it appears not to have always ended the feud (see note below). The principle, however, prevails in some form almost as generally as that of blood vengeance itself. Instances may be seen in the Homeric poems, as in Il. 9. 632, foll., and the ποινὴ ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου of Il. 18. 498. In old German laws the compensation fine is called 'wĕrageld,' 'wĕrigelt,' or 'wĕrgeld,' and is assessed by a regular code according to the rank of the slain person (see Kemble, ch. x). For the payment of fines in cattle, cp. c. 12, 2.

3. **universa domus**. All members of the family became parties to the compact to drop the feud. Laws are found imposing penalties for persistence in it after compensation. 'Satisfactionem accepit' is found in Caes. 6. 9, 8.

in publicum, 'as regarding the state': this phrase is used in several places by Tacitus, with the force of 'publice,' as A. 2. 48, 1; 11. 17, 4; 12. 8, 3: see note on c. 5, 1.

4. **iuxta libertatem**, 'by the side of liberty' = 'inter liberos'; i. e. 'where there is no strong legal control.' Cp. 'illud ex libertate vitium' (c. 11, 3). For a nearly similar use of 'iuxta,' see c. 30. 3; and another, founded chiefly on Sallust, in A. 6. 13, 1.

5. **Convictibus et hospitiis**, 'entertainments and hospitalities,' feasts to each other, and reception of strangers. The previous subject leads Tacitus to speak of the treatment of those who, though outside the family, were protected by custom; the housemaster being responsible for the safe conduct of the stranger to the next house. The hospitality of the Germans is noted in similar terms by Caesar (6. 23, 9): 'hospitem violare fas non putant; qui quaque de causa ad eos venerint, ab iniuria prohibent, sanctos habent, hisque omnium domus patent victusque communicatur'; it is also illustrated from old poems, and enforced by old law: see SS.

effusius indulget, 'gives freer rein to': cp. 'indulge hospitio' (Verg. Aen. 4, 51).

6. **pro fortuna**, 'according to his means'; so in A. 14. 21, 2; cp. 'fortunae' in c. 46, 5; Agr. 31, 2. Here it is taken closely with 'apparatis,' 'well-furnished' (cp. 'apparatis accipere epulis,' Liv. 23. 4, 3, and the substantive in c. 14, 4; 23, 1).

7. **cum defecere**, sc. 'epulae' or 'cibi' (cp. c. 24, 3). In later times two or three nights were the limit for which the right of hospitality could be claimed.

8. **hospes**, 'the host.'

monstrator, &c., 'is his guide and companion to another lodging': this subst. (Verg., Ov., &c.) does not appear to be in earlier prose.

9. **nec interest**, 'there is no distinc-

accipiuntur. notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi in vicem eadem facilitas. gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. [victus inter hospites comis.]

22. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia pro-

2. poposcerunt B, poposceris b^1, text C b^2. 4. [victus . . . comis] so bracketed by Bleter and Halm. 6. statim enim B b^1.

tion' (between invited and uninvited): cp. 'notum ignotumque,' &c. below. This indiscriminateness of hospitality is characteristic of ancient civilization, and grows out of its circumstances: without it, travelling would have been impossible. It can be illustrated abundantly from the Homeric poems, and from many other sources, and has its counterpart now in scantily peopled countries, though in strong contrast to modern society generally, or to the Rome of Tacitus.

1. **quantum ad**, 'so far as concerns' (= 'quantum attinet ad'); so in Agr. 44, 3; H. 5. 10, 3; perhaps taken from Ov. A. A. 1, 744 ('quantum ad Pirithoum').

2. **abeunti.** Such gifts to the guest on departure, and the asking for them, are illustrated from the Nibelungenlied; the old German name for them is 'letzi' (SS.). Such ξεινήια are constantly mentioned in the Homeric poems.

moris: cp. c. 13, 1.

3. **facilitas**, 'freedom from constraint': so 'facilis' is used in the sense of 'frank' in Agr. 40, 4; A. 3. 8, 4, &c.

gaudent, emphatic, as in c. 5, 2.

4. **imputant**, 'reckon as a favour.' The giver expects no return, the receiver feels no obligation.

victus inter hospites comis. This sentence could possibly be taken as summing up the passage ('the whole social life of guestfriends is courteous'), but seems so weak and out of place that it has been generally either bracketed or altered. Some, by reading 'communis' for 'comis,' make it a reminiscence of the 'victusque communicatur' of Caes. (see above). The 'vinculum inter hospites comitas' of Lachmann (which SS. adopts) is somewhat violent and hardly apposite; 'victus inter honestiores comites' (Mr.) would give a meaning only true in special cases, where a 'comitatus' existed, and it is perhaps best to regard the sentence as interpolated from a marginal summary of the passage. The preceding sentence seems to close the subject.

6. **quem plerumque**, &c., in contrast to the Romans who usually rose before daybreak.

7. **saepius calida.** In view of other statements (as Caes. 4. 1, 10; 6. 21, 5: Herodian, 7. 2, 12) that the Germans' bath was the river, and the abundant evidence of their fondness for swimming (A. 2. 8, 3), it has been thought that Tacitus is wrong; but his words may well be true of the daily ablutions of most Germans during most part of the year ('saepius'). For the use of 'ut,' cp. c. 17, 2.

plurimum, sc. 'temporis' (c. 15, 1).

8. **separatae**, &c. This also is contrary to Roman custom. It has been thought that the latter part of the statement is an error arising from the use of the same German words for a table and a dish (cp. 'Tisch' from Latin 'discus'); but separate tables as well as separate seats are found used by Greeks in early times (Od. 17, 333; 22, 74, &c.).

9. **convivia**; besides public, there were often family feasts to celebrate births, marriages, &c.

cedunt armati. diem noctemque continuare potando nulli 2
probrum. crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis,
saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. sed et de reconci- 3
liandis invicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsci-
scendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in
conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad
simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat.
gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris 4
licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. postera die
retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant,
dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

3. sed de C c, text B b. 8. ad hec B, adhec b, ad huc C, ad hoc S, text c. 9. loci B^2 b^2 H M S and Lips.

1. **armati**: see c. 11, 4; 13, 1.

diem noctemque continuare, 'to spend the whole day and night'; so in A. 16. 5, 2. In A. 11. 16, 4, a German prince is described as 'saepius vinolentiam ac libidines, grata barbaris, usurpans.' It would be implied that at Rome drunkenness, however common, was not equally uncondemned.

2. **ut**, sc. 'fieri solet': cp. c. 2, 4.

3. **caede**. SS. notes the frequency of this as attested by a Salic law holding the surviving members of the feast responsible in such cases.

transiguntur, 'are settled.'

4. **invicem** = 'inter se'; so 'miscere invicem consilia' (Agr. 38, 1), &c. Some would take it adversatively, as in c. 21, 3, &c. The custom of sealing the reconciliation of a quarrel by drinking from the same cup is noted as a survival.

adfinitatibus, 'family alliances,' such as those of marriage.

5. **principibus**, perhaps here 'ducibus' (c. 7, 1): cp. 'rex . . . adscisceretur' (A. 12. 10, 4).

de . . . bello. The rising of Civilis (H. 4. 14, 3) and that against Varus (A. 1. 55, 3) were thus projected at feasts, and a similar ancient Greek custom is seen in Hom. Il. 9, 89, foll., &c. Bp. Stubbs notes (p. 30) that these feasts are a real part of the 'concilium' (c. 11, 12), and have their counterpart in later times.

6. **tamquam**, assigning the supposed reason, as in c. 12, 2, &c.

7. **simplices**, ἁπλοῦς, 'unreserved'; so 'simplicissime loquimur' (H. 1. 15, 8); 'convivalium fabularum simplicitas' (A. 6. 5, 2). K. takes it in a sense opposed to 'magnas,' as 'readily understood,' such as 'reconciliandis inimicis,' in contrast to 'de bello,' &c.

8. **non astuta nec callida**, 'without natural or acquired cunning,' C. B.

aperit adhuc, 'still continues (cp. c. 3, 3, &c.) to disclose,' in contrast to Romans, who had learnt reticence even in their cups (cp. Agr. 2, 3). Some take 'adhuc' with 'secreta,' but it appears to go more commonly with the preceding word.

9. **ergo . . . mens**, so stopped by Halm and Z., giving 'ergo' its force as summing up the preceding words. K. and SS. omit the stop, and take 'mens,' somewhat boldly, in the sense of 'consilium,' as subject of 'retractatur'; to which, with the other stopping, some such general subject as 'res' must be supplied from the sense. Some (with Meiser) read 'res retractatur.'

postera die, &c. Herodotus describes (1. 133, 5) a similar practice among the ancient Persians.

10. **salva . . . ratio est**, 'the regard paid to either time (advantage accruing from it) is secured': 'ratio' seems here used in a sense akin to the expressions 'meae,' 'tuae rationes' (Cic. and Sall.): cp. 'cui . . . ratio fuit' (H. 3. 22, 1).

11. **dum** = 'tum cum.'

constituunt, &c., 'they decide when they cannot be misled' (carried away by excitement). The obvious exaggera-

23. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem.
2 adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. si indulseris ebrietati

1. umor Hold. Mr., humor all MSS., and in c. 45, 6.

tion is due to the desire to make the contrast as pointed as possible, and some reasonable qualification may be readily understood.

1. **Potui**, sc. 'est.' This predicative dative, expressing that which a thing or person serves as, or occasions, is common in Tacitus, most frequently in forms in 'ui,' as 'victui,' 'vestitui' (c. 46, 3), 'derisui' (Agr. 39, 2), 'inrisui' (H. 1. 7, 5), 'indutui' (A. 16. 4, 2), 'obtentui' (H. 1. 49, 6, &c.), 'ostentui' (A. 15. 64, 2, &c.).

frumento, probably for the specific term 'tritico' (wheat); but it has been doubted whether the Germans then had it. Mead from honey seems to have been known to all Aryan speaking peoples (Taylor, 170), and intoxicating drink from grain was known to many nations and had many names, as 'zythum' in Egypt, 'caelia' and 'cerea' in Spain, 'cervesia' in Gaul, &c. (Plin. 22. 25, 82, 164). The old forms of the words 'beer' and 'ale' may be native German, but their claim is questioned. 'Barleywine' was the common drink of the Kelts (Gauls) as late as the time of Julian, whose epigram upon it is preserved (Anth. Pal. ix. 368; see also Mommsen, Hist. v. E. T. i. 108).

Τίς πόθεν εἶς Διόνυσε; μὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀληθέα Βάκχον,
Οὔ σ' ἐπιγιγνώσκω· τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μόνον.
Κεῖνος νέκταρ ὄδωδε, σὺ δὲ τράγου· ἦ ῥά σε Κελτοὶ
Τῇ πενίῃ βοτρύων τεῦξαν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων.
Τῷ σε χρὴ καλέειν Δημήτριον, οὐ Διόνυσον,
Πυρογένη μᾶλλον καὶ βρόμον, οὐ Βρόμιον.

2. **corruptus**, 'fermented'; the idea appears to be that of decomposition or change of nature. K. would take it as equivalent to 'in similitudinem vini corrupti factus.'

et vinum mercantur. This importation was forbidden in Caesar's time by the Suebi (4. 2, 6), as also by the Gallic Nervii (2. 16, 4). SS². notes the German words for wine and all connected with winemaking as foreign.

3. **cibi**, &c. It is shown in the following notes that the account of their food is very defective.

agrestia poma, uncultivated and ungrafted apples, such as grew in fields rather than gardens (see note on c. 5, 1). Such were part of a simple diet even in Italy (A. 15. 45, 6). The Germans are known at that time to have had other wild fruits, berries, nuts, &c.; also some kinds of vegetables, as beans and edible roots.

recens fera, game not hung (as at Rome) to become tender. If hunting was rare (c. 15, 1), this food must have been exceptional, and they must also have eaten the flesh of domestic animals, birds, and fish. The statement of Mela (3. 3, 28) that they ate raw meat, both fresh and dried on the skin, is perhaps true of the latter only; such dried meat being even now not unknown in some parts.

lac concretum (cp. Verg. G. 3, 463), 'curdled milk' ('dicke Milch'). Caesar says of the Suebi (4. 1, 8) 'maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt,' and of the Germans in general (6. 22, 1) 'maior pars victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit'; but the name for cheese (Käse) would show it to be of foreign origin. Neither Caesar nor Tacitus speaks of the oatmeal pulse, mentioned by Pliny (see on c. 5, 1) as a chief article of German food.

4. **apparatu**: cp. c. 14, 4; here used of sumptuous luxuries, and further explained by 'blandimentis,' 'provocatives to appetite,' the 'irritamenta gulae' of Sall. Jug. 89, 7, or the 'qualia lassum pervellunt stomachum' of Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 8. That salt was valued as a condiment is shown by conflicts for salt springs (A. 13, 57, 1).

5. **adversus**, 'in relation to' (cp. c. 46, 5, &c.). The same German failing

suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis
quam armis vincentur.

24. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem.
nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque
infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. exercitatio artem paravit, ars 2
decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem: quamvis
audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. aleam, 3
quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi per-
dendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac
novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. victus 4
voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis iuvenior, quamvis

1. vinis C. 5. excitatio C c. parat C. 6. mercede C. 7. expectantium all others, text b. 9. defecerint b.

is noted in c. 4, 3; and their propensity to drunkenness was taken advantage of in war (A. 1. 50, 6; H. 4, 79, 3).

1. **haud minus facile**, probably a litotes for 'facilius.' He certainly would not call it easy to subdue them by arms (c. 37, 2.).

3. **Genus**, &c., 'they have but one (in contrast to the variety at Rome) and in all gatherings the same public game.' This is the chief ancient account of what (by disuse of the 'framea') was afterwards known as the sword dance, kept up till nearly recent times. The games on horseback called 'tiost' (the 'joust,' the origin of the tournament) seem not to have then existed.

4. **nudi**; in later times a shirt or tunic was worn; and the word may be taken here as thus qualified, or as in c. 6, 2.

quibus, &c., 'who make profession of that exhibition' (cp. A. 1. 52, 4, &c.). It seems not to have been practised by all, and was probably confined to freemen.

5. **infestas**, 'held menacingly' (cp. 'infestis pilis,' H. 1. 31, 7), or perhaps planted in the ground, point upwards: 'saltu iaciunt' is stronger than 'saltant.'

artem . . . decorem, 'skill . . . gracefulness.'

6. **non in quaestum**, 'not with a view to profit' (cp. 'in terrorem,' c. 38, 4), sc. 'exercent,' supplied from 'exercitatio.' Gifts were later, perhaps always, given, but it was not a trade, like that of Roman jugglers, or practised for wages ('mercedem'), like the gladiator's calling.

quamvis, &c., 'for recklessness, however daring.' It was, no doubt, in origin, a religious act, probably in honour of Tiu (Mars), and joined with the feasts: cp. 'noctem sollemnibus epulis ludicram' (A. 1. 50, 4).

7. **aleam**, &c. At Rome dicing was forbidden by law (see Hor. Od. 3. 24, 58), and, though no doubt common enough, was tolerated only in hours of revelry, or at such times as the Saturnalia. In later times it was prohibited also among the Germans.

8. **inter seria**, 'as one of their earnest occupations.'

9. **temeritate**, 'recklessness': we should naturally expect 'ludendi,' for which words expressing the result are substituted.

extremo ac novissimo, 'the decisive and last throw.' The ideas are virtually the same; for similar instances, see Introd. p. 10.

10. **corpore**, 'his person.' A similar custom is recorded of the Huns, and SS[2]. alludes to a poem in the Rig-vedas and other tales evidencing a prevalence of gambling among the ancient Indians.

11. **iuvenior.** This rare comparative form is found in Columella, Pliny mi., and Appuleius.

robustior adligari se ac vénire patitur. ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

25. Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur: suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret: cetera

4. descriptis all, text Reifferscheid. 5. ministris B b^1, text C c b^2. 7. ut servus B b^2, et C c b^2.

1. **adligari**: this verb is used for the simple 'ligari' with the special sense of binding the hands or feet: cp. 'adliga, inquam, conliga' (Plaut. Epid. 5. 2, 25).

2. **ipsi fidem vocant.** Tacitus would not give such a term ('honour') to the adherence to a bargain so disgraceful to both parties. He would rather call it 'persistency' ('pervicacia').

servos condicionis huius, 'slaves in this position,' those who become so under these circumstances.

per commercia, 'in traffic'; so of persons 'venumdati' and 'empti' (Agr. 28, 5; 39, 2): 'tradunt,' sc. 'aliis.'

3. **se quoque**: a sense of shame would be felt by both parties. H. Schütz would read 'se quisque.'

pudore victoriae exsolvant; so 'pudore proditionis exsolvere' (H. 3. 61, 4; A. 6. 44, 7).

4. **Ceteris**, in contrast to those above described. Some would be slaves by birth, others would become so by marriage with such, or by captivity (cp. Agr. 28, 5; A. 12. 27, 4; 13. 56, 6) or by judicial sentence, or inability to pay fines, or even by voluntary surrender, or sale by husbands or parents (A. 4. 72, 4), to escape starvation: see Bp. Stubbs, i. p. 84. Tacitus here describes only one form of bondage, a kind of serfdom approaching to later villeinage, and ignores, or rather expressly denies, the existence of slaves in the house, though such are clearly alluded to elsewhere (see c. 20, 2).

in nostrum morem: cp. c. 16, 2.

discriptis, &c. 'with distinct functions prescribed throughout the establishment.' Such separate departments or functions of Roman slaves are abundantly given in inscriptions. Most edd. adopt the reading 'discriptis' (= 'scribendo distributis'); a similar alteration having been made in most places where 'describo' is found in MSS. with this meaning.

5. **suam**, &c., 'each has a domicile of his own and lords it there' (like a free householder): on the sense of 'penates,' cp. c. 15, 1. Tacitus is perhaps contrasting the 'cellae' of Roman slaves (Hor. S. 1. 8, 8), and speaks rhetorically, but the context shows that the serf had land as well as dwelling. We seem certainly to have here indicated the existence of what are called dependent villages, consisting of the mansion of a lord with the cottages of serfs clustering round it, with small holdings tenable at his pleasure; a condition of things from which the manor of later date arises. Some consider that this was the prevalent type of German village at this date, and that the statements in c. 16, 1, and 26, 1 can be explained in accordance with this view (see D. W. Ross, p. 124; F. Seebohm, pp. 339, foll.). It is perhaps better to suppose that there were variations which Tacitus omits to distinguish (see on c. 16, 1). Probably he would have found the Roman term 'villa' (A. 4. 73, 7; H. 5. 23, 4) better suited than 'vicus' to describe such houses with dependent hamlets.

6. **frumenti modum.** Such rents in kind are abundantly attested by later evidence. It may be that the whole estate was parcelled out on these terms among the serfs, but if a portion was retained in hand by the lord we should suppose that they had an additional obligation to labour on it.

7. **vestis**, 'cloth,' which they had to spin and weave.

domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. verberare servum 2
ac vinculis et opere coërcere rarum: occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro 3
aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. ibi enim et super

4. liberti . . . argumentum sunt, inserted at end of c. 26 after ignorantur B b^1, also here in margin b^2 with note 'in hoc loco potius.'

ut colono. If this term is to be taken in the sense in which it is used at a much later date by jurists, it would be true that the condition of the 'colonus' generally resembled that of the serf or villein, but he had more legal rights than we can suppose in these German bondsmen (see Dict. of Ant. s. v.; Introd. p. 21). If, however, as at this date is more likely, the term is used in the older and more popular sense of a tenant farmer bound only by his contract (cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 115; Plin. ad Trai. 8 (24), 5, &c.), there would be very little analogy between the cases.

hactenus paret, 'his obedience ends here': cp. 'hactenus iussum' (Agr. 10. 6), and several other passages (e.g. A. 12. 42, 5; 14. 3, 2). The subjection is much understated: the serf was 'adscriptus glebae,' and in legal formulae the 'mancipia' pass, like buildings, &c., with the estate (Ross, p. 127); also if extra service were demanded, the slave had no legal remedy, and the power to scourge and kill is shown below to have existed. Probably slaves furnished the human sacrifices described in c. 9, 1; 39, 1; certainly in c. 40, 5.

cetera domus officia, 'the rest, the household duties' (of the master's house): so 'ceterum vulgus' is opposed to officers in H. 3. 12; 4. 56, 2, and similar uses of 'alius' and ἄλλος are found. SS. mentions later instances of even the king's wife superintending the cooking.

1. **verberare**; compare the constant scourgings of a Roman household (Juv. 6, 475–485, &c.).

2. **opere coërcere,** 'to punish (cp. c. 11, 5) by taskwork': cp. 'accedes opera agro nona Sabino' (Hor. Sat. 2. 7, 118). The Roman masters sent refractory household slaves to an 'ergastulum' or 'pistrinum' (Marquardt, Privatl. 183).

3. **disciplina et severitate,** hendiadys for 'disciplinae severitate' (H. 1. 51, 2), an extreme case of which was the Roman practice of executing the whole household when a master was murdered by any one of his slaves. Cp. A. 14. 42–45.

impetu, 'impetuously.'

ut inimicum, 'as they would kill an enemy.'

4. **impune,** i.e. if one's own slave. He who killed the slave of another had to pay his value as a chattel.

liberti. SS. notes the term ('frīlāz') for a manumitted person and the forms for manumission preserved in ancient German laws. They were still 'Hörige' or 'Lite' (Z.), and were in a condition of clientship, as were also some 'ingenui' (see Introd. p. 22).

5. **momentum,** 'a weight to turn the scale': cp. H. 1. 59, 2; 76, 5. It is better to supply 'sunt' from above, than 'habent' or 'faciunt' (with K.).

numquam in civitate, a contrast to Rome, especially under Claudius, whose chief freedmen, Pallas and Narcissus, were the most influential men in the state.

6. **dumtaxat,** only here in Tacitus.

quae regnantur: such as most of the Suebi (see Introd. p. 19). The passive 'regnari,' (c. 44, 1; H. 1. 16, 11, &c.) is from poets (Verg., Hor., &c.).

ibi enim, &c. The king's freedmen became important by being capable of holding important offices, such as in later times those of 'seneschall' and 'mareschall.' So also the imperial freedmen at Rome held such important offices as those of secretary and treasurer ('a libellis,' 'a rationibus'), which were then considered beneath the dignity of persons of higher political status.

ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

26. Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. agri pro numero cultorum ab universis vicis occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi cam-

5. in uices B, inuicem b, uices C c, vice H, vicis Bambergensis, [vices] Halm.

1. **impares** (sc. 'ingenuis') **libertini,** equivalent to an abstract noun with genit. as subject to the verb ('the inferior position of freedmen is,' &c.). The construction is more common with participles (see Draeger, Synt. und Stil, § 210).

2. **libertatis,** political freedom. Thus the sense of freedom in the Britons made them disdain Nero's freedman Polyclitus when sent to them (A. 14. 39, 3).

3. **Faenus agitare,** &c. 'Agitare,' with the sense of 'exercere' ('to make a business of'), is so used with 'faenus' in A. 6. 16, 3, and with 'frumenta,' 'vectigalia,' &c. in A. 4. 6, 1. For 'extendere in,' cp. c. 17, 3. The difficulty lies in the second clause, which some take in a distinct sense, and translate 'lending money on interest and increasing it by compound interest' (C. B.). But the first clause would make the second very needless, and it is perhaps better to take them (like so many expressions in this treatise) as virtually synonymous ('to trade with capital and make it run on into interest'). The evils of Roman practice and a crisis arising from it are described in A. 6. 16–17. The whole remark is somewhat unnecessary, in speaking of a nation who had mostly no money, and dealt by barter (c. 5, 4).

ideoque, &c. Z. (after Kraffert) alters this to 'idque,' explained as 'faenus non agitare'; the idea of which has otherwise to be supplied from the sense as subject of 'servatur.' The construction in either case is awkward, and the sentence seems a weak repetition of what has been already better said at the end of c. 19. Thiersch reads 'ignominiosum' for 'ignotum,' others bracket the whole, 'faenus . . . esset,' or the latter part, 'ideoque . . . esset,' as an interpolation.

5. **ab universis vicis,** 'by villages as communities.' This reading, preserved in one MS. and probably indicated by the corruption 'vices' (for which 'in vices' and 'invicem' may be corrections), is adopted by Z., also by Waitz and other writers, and gives the best sense to the passage, which appears to describe a free village (as contrasted with that noted in c. 25, 1). The form of such a village community found later in Germany is that called the mark system, on which see Von Maurer, in Sir H. Maine, Village Communities, pp. 78–82. The community as such was possessed of a tract of land, divided into three marks or portions; (1) the mark of the township or village, the ground occupied by the dwellings and homesteads of its members; (2) the common land or pasture mark, held by all in mixed ownership under supervision; (3) the arable mark, taken out of the common for cultivation, divided into three great fields, of which one lay fallow every year. A portion of this mark was allotted to and cultivated by every family, subject to fixed rules of cropping and fallowing. We cannot, indeed, recognize this system as a whole in the description here given (see following notes), but we have perhaps an account of some state of things out of which it may have grown. Those who bracket 'vices' (as Halm), or read 'in vices' or 'invicem' (with a reference to 'arva . . . mutant' below) would still make the land to be occupied 'ab universis,' i. e. by communities of men, such as probably clans or great families (see Introd. pp. 22, 32). For various other readings, see Mr.

6. **secundum dignationem,** 'in proportion to their rank' (cp. c. 13, 2, and note): apparently implying that the 'princeps' or 'nobilis' had more than the simple freeman. Caesar says (6. 22, 2–4) that they had no private land, and that, as regards common rights, all stood

porum spatia praestant. arva per annos mutant, et superest 2 ager. nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. unde annum quoque 3

1. praebent b B^2 c H, Mf., praestant B^1 C S. 2. laborare b^1 B^2 c^2 M, text B^1 b^2 C c^1 H S. 3. ut hortos B b^1 c H, et C b^2, aut Nipperdey.

on an equal footing. Also in the mark system it appears that the original distribution of the arable area was into exactly equal portions to each free family (Maine, p. 81), but that such equality became set aside in course of time.

partiuntur. The meaning of this and of 'occupantur' above are by no means clear. If we suppose anything approaching to the mark system to be spoken of, we should explain the partition here spoken of to refer to the arable land only, and to be an allotment, with the proprietorship still retained by the community. But the passage as it stands contains no such limitations, and it is open to take it to mean that the whole 'ager' was partitioned among families or individuals, and as private property; in which case 'occupantur' would only mean that the undivided territory was taken possession of by the whole community or clan intended to constitute the village (see note on c. 7, 3) at the first conquest or settlement, and that its proprietorship was done away with by the partition.' It does not seem clear whether (as Asbach thinks) any resemblance or contrast to the Roman 'ager publicus' is implied.

facilitatem, &c., i.e. the extent of territory makes it easy to carry out this distribution and give every one enough. Mf. less well stops these words to go with those which follow.

1. **arva per annos mutant.** Caesar says of the Suebi (4. 1, 7) and of the Germans generally (6. 22, 2), that they were compelled every year to shift their dwelling altogether, and go on to another spot, thus making their life much what Horace represents as that of the nomad Scythians and Getae (see Introd. p. 7). This may have been at that time true at least of certain tribes, as of those called Suebi (see on c. 38, 1), but Tacitus, if he meant to follow Caesar, would be inconsistent with himself, as he certainly speaks of fixed dwellings (c. 16, &c.), and pointedly distinguishes even the least advanced Germans from nomads (c. 46, 2). He only speaks here, however, of a yearly change of cultivated land ('arva'). This might be explained as an inaccurate account of the system of fallowing enforced on the allottees (see note on § 1), or of periodical redistribution of assignments, or shifting of the whole arable mark from one part of the village domain to another (see Maine, l. l.). The words would seem, however, to be better taken as representing an earlier and ruder system under which each householder ploughs a fresh piece out of the pasture each year, letting the previously ploughed land go back to waste or grass. This might equally be the mode of culture whether the 'ager' out of which the plough land was taken was the property of the individual or of the community; and if the domain was large (see next note), it might be some years before the same piece was ploughed again. Mr. Seebohm (p. 344) speaks of such a system as attested by Welsh laws, and termed 'coaration of the waste.' The Germans had at this time no rotation of crops ('sola terrae seges imperatur').

et superest ager, 'and the domain (distinct from 'arva') is abundant' (cp. c. 6, 1); there is always spare land that has not been ploughed, so that this system is easily kept up. The sentence is parenthetical, as the following 'enim' refers to 'arva . . . mutant,' explaining that their mode of husbandry is not such as to make it necessary that the same land should be kept under cultivation.

2. **nec enim,** &c., 'for they do not try to vie with the fertility of the soil (increase its fertility) by toil, so as to plant orchards, and irrigate gardens (as Romans did: cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 4, 16), and separate meadows from rough pasture.'

4. **sola . . . imperatur** (rhetorical),

ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

27. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut cor-
2 pora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur. sepulcrum caespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

4. observant b and Haupt.

'the corn crop is the only tribute exacted from the soil.'

annum quoque . . . non = 'ne annum quidem.' They do not even divide the year into as many seasons as we do. The old broad division of the year, attested by Aryan languages generally, and still used by Thucyd., is into summer and winter, between which spring and autumn are intermediate stages, and the Germans had no name for the latter as a season. 'Herbst' is probably of later date, and more properly 'harvest time,' which with Romans would fall in summer. It is to be noted that we have the Latin 'autumn' with English names for the other seasons.

2. **intellectum**, 'a meaning.'

3. **bona**, such as the vintage, and fruit gathering: cp. 'pomifer auctumnus' (Hor. Od. 4. 7, 11).

4. **Funerum**, &c. This forms the fitting epilogue to this portion.

nulla ambitio, 'there is no pomp'; in contrast to Romans, whose funerals, especially by the addition of gladiatorial shows, had risen to enormous cost. The Gauls had become extravagant in this respect (Caes. 6. 19, 4), as did later the Saxons and other Germans.

5. **certis lignis**, perhaps oak or beech. Cremation of some sort seems implied to be, at this date, universal; simple burial, as shown in the most ancient graves, having perhaps become obsolete or local. Cremation was abolished by Christianity in the time of Charles the Great (Z.).

struem, defined by genit. 'rogi.'

6. **vestibus . . . odoribus.** Such are described as burnt in honour of Germanicus (A. 3. 2, 2), and more than a year's produce of the latter at that of Poppaea (Plin. 12. 18, 41, 83). SS. notes that this practice came in later among the Germans.

7. **equus**, that the dead might ride in state into 'Walhalla.' The horse of Alaric thus shared his funeral (Z.); there is also evidence that favourite hounds, and sometimes slaves, and even wives (see on c. 19, 3) were sacrificed. Similar customs prevailed (Caes. l. l.) at Gaulish funerals and among the early Greeks (Hom. Il. 23, 171–175).

caespes erigit. This rhetorical expression (cp. H. 5. 6, 4) seems taken from Sen. (Ep. 8, 5), 'hanc (domum) utrum caespes erexerit an lapis . . . nihil interest.'

8. **monumentorum**, such as those at Rome, the mausoleum of Augustus, pyramid of Cestius, and other great family tombs, the 'magnae moles sepulchrorum' of Sen. de Brev. Vit. 20, 5.

arduum . . . honorem, enallage for 'arduorum, &c.

gravem. Cp. the frequent epitaph 'sit tibi terra levis.'

9. **lamenta et lacrimas**: for the alliteration cp. Introd. p. 10. SS. notes that in later times passionate grief is sustained for three days, and the whole mourning for seven or thirty days.

10. **ponunt** = 'deponunt': cp. 'ad ponendum dolorem' (Cic. Tusc. 3. 28, 66).

lugere . . . meminisse. Tacitus

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac 3
moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quaeque nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

28. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos: quantulum enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas?
igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes 2

3. quae all, quaeque Halm. 5. autor B b, auctor some edd., text C c H S. 9. diversas C b^2 and old edd. 10. Hircyniam B b^1, text b^2, hercinam (in c. 30, 1, hercinio) C c.

may have again had Seneca's words in mind (Ep. 99, 24), 'meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.' Somewhat similar words are ascribed to the dying Germanicus (A. 2. 71, 5).

1. **in commune,** 'generally,' cp. c. 38, 1; 40, 2, &c.; and see note on c. 5, 1.

2. **accepimus,** used frequently by Tacitus and others of traditional or secondhand knowledge, as in Dial. 12, 4; 28, 6; 30, 2; 40, 3, Agr. 11, 5; H. 5. 4, 5; A. 1. 8, 7; 2. 59, 2, &c. Peterson notes exceptions (on Dial. 1, 3). See Introd. p. 12.

gentium . . . nationes, here used for variation, without such distinction of meaning as in c. 2, 5.

instituta ritusque, probably synonyms; but the latter may especially refer to religious customs.

3. **quatenus,** 'in so far as'; so in c. 42, 1: elsewhere Tacitus uses the word only with the force of 'quoniam.'

quaeque, &c.; so Halm and Z.; most others retain the MSS. 'quae'; some, with Reifferscheid, omit or bracket the whole clause as an index to the following chapter intruded into the text. Nipperdey would add 'e Galliis in Germaniam' before 'e Germania.'

4. **expediam,** 'I will relate'; so used several times in Tacitus, and in poets, also in Sall. Jug. 5, 3.

5. **Validiores,** sc. 'quam Germanorum.'

summus, 'of highest repute,' owing to his knowledge of Gaul.

6. **tradit;** in 6. 24, Caesar says that the Volcae Tectosages had occupied a tract bordering on the Hercynian forest, and were still living there. Livy makes such an occupation coincide with the Gallic migration to Italy, which he places in the time of Tarquinius Priscus (5. 34, 4), but which was more probably about B.C. 400.

etiam, closely with 'Gallos.' He does not notice the possibility that the Celts traceable in Germany (see c. 43, 1) might have been left behind in a movement of the rest.

8. **ut,** 'whenever'; so 'ut primum adoleverint' (c. 31, 1).

evaluerat: cp. c. 2, 5, &c.

permutaretque, 'and again exchange for others'; or perhaps 'take in exchange for their own,' as in. Hor. Od. 3. 1, 47.

9. **promiscuas,** 'unappropriated,' open to every one: cp. 'haud promisco spectaculo' (A. 14. 14, 4).

divisas, 'partitioned,' by kingdoms able to resist invasion.

10. **igitur,** taking up the narrative after a parenthetical passage: cp. Dial. 3, 1; Agr. 36, 2, &c.

inter, 'the space between,' an extremely harsh abbreviation of the usual expression 'quantum inter' (A. 1. 60, 5; H. 2. 14, 4), which Wölfflin would read here.

Hercyniam silvam. Caesar, who describes this tract as extending from the source of the Danube to the borders of Dacia (6. 25), identifies it with the whole highland region of south Germany. The portion here mentioned is

Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque loci veterem memoriam
3 quamvis mutatis cultoribus. sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis [Germanorum natione] an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia
4 ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectationem Germanicae originis ultro

1. utraque om. b. 2. boihemi, boiemi, bohemi MSS., text Mf. signatque c H M and some edd., sign^t^que b, text B C. 4. a boiis (or bois) all but b^2, but osi (osci C) below. [Germanorum natione] bracketed by Passow and Halm. 6. qui B b^1. 8. Neruli B b^1 C c, heruli b^2, text Rhen. germanae b.

distinct from that spoken of in c. 30, 1, and is perhaps the mountain tract between Bavaria and Bohemia (Böhmerwald). Mommsen (Hist. iii. E. T. p. 174) thinks it here probably the Rauhe Alp, between the Neckar and Danube. The name is thought to be Celtic (= 'height').

Moenum, the Main; also taken to be a Celtic name ('flowing'). The district meant is taken by Mommsen (l.l.) to include the modern Swabia and Franconia, or parts of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden. The Helvetii must have been driven out before the time of Caesar, who knows of them only in Switzerland, and part of the district became the 'agri decumates' of c. 29, 4, but the name Ἑλουητίων ἔρημος survived in this region when Ptolemy wrote (2. 11, 10).

1. **ulteriora**, not only Bohemia, but some part of Bavaria between the Rauhe Alp and the Böhmerwald (see Mommsen, l.l.).

Boii, replaced in Bohemia by the Marcomani (c. 42, 1, and note). This 'most harassed of all the Celtic peoples' (Mommsen, l. l.) is known in Italy (Liv. 5. 35, 2), Noricum (Caes. 1. 5, 3), and elsewhere, also in Gaul itself as associated with the Aedui (Id. 1. 28, 5).

2. **Boihaemi** (see various readings), the name given by Velleius (2. 109, 3) to the tract occupied by Maroboduus (see c. 42, 2), by Strabo (7, 1, 3, 290) to his headquarters (βασίλειον). The last part of the name is German ('Haim' or 'Heim' = 'home').

significat, 'attests the old tradition.'

3. **Aravisci**, the Eravisci of Pl. 3. 25, 28, 148, and Inscr., Ἀραβίσκοι of Ptol. 2. 15, 3, an Illyrian people of Pannonia, near the Platten See, in Hungary. The name is thought by Zeuss to be Celtic, meaning 'dwellers on the Arabo' (Raab).

4. **Osis**: in c. 43, 1, it is distinctly stated that their Pannonian language showed them not to be Germans. It is implied here that they had otherwise closer affinity to the Aravisci than to the Pannonians generally, but it could hardly have been doubtful to the historian which nation was the offshoot of the other, and it seems impossible to bring the two passages into harmony. The difficulty is increased by 'Germanorum natione,' which is most probably no more than the gloss of some perplexed critic; though many have retained it, taken in a loose sense ('reckoned as Germans'), as part of the supposition here treated as uncertain.

6. **olim**, 'originally.'

inopia . . . . libertate (abl. abs. chiastic with 'bona . . . mala'), the characteristics of Germans. There was no more motive for migration one way than the other.

7. **Treveri**, &c. Here the mention of Germans in Gaul begins; the doubtful cases being put first. The Treveri lived in the district of their town, colonized as 'Augusta Treverorum' (Trier or Trèves), and appear to have been Gauls assimilated to Germans through their neighbourhood (B. G. 8. 25, 2). They are stated to have called in Roman aid against German oppressors (H. 4. 73, 3).

8. **Nervii**. This people, whose chief towns were Bagacum and Camaracum

ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

29. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non

4. nubii all, ne Ubii Gruter. 9. batavii B C c.

(Bavay and Cambray), were the most powerful of the Belgic Gauls (Caes. 2. 4, 8; 15, 3, &c.); all of whom are spoken of by Caesar (2. 4, 1), as of German origin. Strabo also makes the Nervii German (4. 3, 4, 194); but he has hardly a clear distinction between the races: see Introd. p. 17, note 8.

circa, 'in relation to'; so used several times by Tacitus, and elsewhere in silver Latin.

ultro ambitiosi sunt, 'go so far as (cp. Agr. 19, 4, &c) to pride themselves upon laying claim.' The use of 'adfectationem,' and the contrast 'haud dubie' below, show that Tacitus did not fully believe in the tradition.

1. **tamquam,** expressing their view. Tacitus is himself a despiser of the Gauls of his day (cp. c. 29, 4; Agr. 11, 5, &c.), as were the Romans of that time generally (A. 3. 46, 2, &c.).

similitudine et inertia, hendiadys for 'similitudine inertiae.'

3. **haud dubie,** taken closely with 'Germanorum.'

Vangiones, &c. The chief town of this people was Borbetomagus (Worms), those of the Triboci Breucomagus (Brumat) and probably Argentoratum (Strassburg); that of the Nemetes Noviomagus (Speyer). The names of the towns and apparently those of the two latter people are Celtic, but they all claimed kinship with Ariovistus and joined him (Caes. 1. 51, 2). They formed the chief part of the Roman 'Germania Superior,' and served as auxiliaries (A. 12. 27, 3).

4. **Ubii.** These in Caesar's time (1. 54, 1; 4. 3, 3) lived beyond the Rhine, opposite to the Treveri, but were taken across by M. Agrippa, with their own consent, probably in B.C. 38 (see A. 12. 27, 2, and note).

quamquam, with subjunct., as very often in Tacitus (c. 29, 4; 35, 1; 38, 1), more rarely with indic. as in c. 46, 1.

5. **meruerint** (with inf. as in A. 14. 48, 5; Ov. and Quint.), 'earned' by their fidelity. Their 'oppidum' (A. 1. 36, 1, &c.) became 'Colonia Agrippinae' (Köln or Cologne) under Claudius in A.D. 50, taking its name from his wife Agrippina (A. 12. 27, 1). Hence the people drop their German name, and are called 'Agrippinenses' (H. 4. 28, 2), a name traced by Grimm (see SS.) in that of 'Grippingenland.'

conditoris sui. The term might possibly be used of a woman (Pramm. notes c. 7, 4), and 'sui' might be an objective genit., like 'nostri' (A. 11. 24, 6); but it has been thought that Tacitus at this time erroneously believed Agrippa to have been the founder.

6. **erubescunt,** with simple abl., as in Agr. 42, 3, Liv. &c.

experimento, causal abl., 'by reason of their tried loyalty.'

7. **arcerent,** sc. 'transrhenanos.'

9. **Omnium.** He has not here mentioned the Tungri (see c. 2, 5), nor does he distinguish from the Batavi the neighbouring Canninefates (H. 4. 15, &c.) and Cugerni (H. 4. 26, 4, &c.).

Batavi ('Bătăvi' in Lucan, but 'Bătāvi' in Mart., Juv., Sil., Anth. Lat.), described also with some fulness in H. 4. 12. They had already before Caesar's time (4. 10, 1) occupied the island formed by the bifurcation of the old or true Rhine and the Maas or Waal (A. 2. 6. 5), where the name sur-

multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum
quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes trans-
2 gressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. manet honos
et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur
nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et
tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma,
3 bellis reservantur. est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum
gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum
ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. ita sede
finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt,
cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo
et caelo acrius animantur.

1. cattorum b, and so elsewhere. So also B[1] here but elsewhere Chat . . ., other MSS. vary. 7. matiacorum C[1].

vives in the districts of Over and Neder Betuwe. The name is thought to be from a root 'bat' ('able') with a Celtic ending, also their towns have Gallic names, as Batavodurum (H. 4. 20, 3) and Lugdunum (Leyden), and they counted with the Gallic 'civitates' in the diet at Lugdunum (Lyons): see Mommsen, Hist. v. E. T. i. 97.

non multum, &c., 'not much of the river-frontier': 'extrema Gallicae orae' (H. 4. 12, 2).

1. **Chattorum,** &c.: see H. l.l. The fact is questioned (see Z.).

3. **in quibus . . . fierent,** 'in which they were destined to become': cp. 'in quibus . . . victoriam ederetis' (Agr. 34, 3).

honos, explained by the more specific words following. The expression would show that, after their rising with Civilis in A.D. 69–70 (of which nothing is here said), they had submitted on honourable terms; but their troops appear to have been no longer kept together, or under officers chosen from themselves (Mommsen, l. l. p. 144).

4. **nam nec,** &c., 'for they are neither insulted by tribute, nor ground down by the tax-farmer' (i.e. by 'vectigalia'): cp. 'atteri' (Agr. 9, 5), &c. They are represented as themselves making a similar boast (H. 5. 25, 3).

5. **collationibus** (dat. with 'exempti'), gifts for special purposes, such as horses for service, &c., often represented as voluntary (A. 1. 71, 3), but really burdensome (2. 5, 3). Hence it is said in praise of Trajan 'collationes remisisse' (Pl. Pan. 41).

6. **tela atque arma,** offensive and defensive arms. They furnished some 9000 foot and 1000 horse to the army (Mommsen).

7. **reservantur:** cp. 'quibus . . . . reservemur' (Agr. 31, 3).

Mattiacorum. These lived in the district of Mt. Taunus; their 'fontes calidi' (Plin. 31. 2, 17, 20) being those of Wiesbaden. They had become part of the empire, and mines were worked in their country in A.D. 47 (A. 11. 20, 4). They joined Civilis (H. 4. 37, 4) but had now returned to their allegiance, and from this time are permanently incorporated as the 'civitas Mattiacorum Taunensium' (see Mommsen, l. l. p. 149. They are connected with the Chatti, whose town was called Mattium (A. 1. 56, 6), and are mentioned here owing to the similarity of their position to that of the Batavi.

9. **imperii,** probably best taken as genit. obj. after 'reverentiam.'

sede finibusque, abl. of respect: the words are virtually synonymous, as are also 'mente animoque.'

10. **agunt,** as in c. 19, 1, &c.

11. **nisi quod,** &c. The best sense seems to be given by taking 'adhuc' with 'acrius' (cp. c. 19, 3, and note). The Batavians have been spoken of as

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam 4 trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent: levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere; mox limite acto

1. numeraverimus C. 2. danubium B b c, text C. decumathes B c H S.

warlike, the Mattiaci generally resemble them, 'except that they are yet more vigorously inspirited by the very soil and climate of their land' (a highland tract, contrasted with the dead level of the Batavian island). The order of the words is rather against taking 'adhuc' with 'suae,' 'the land which is still their own,' which they have not changed, like the Batavians, for another.

1. **numeraverim**, the usual tense where a writer speaks for himself: cp. 'dixerim,' 'crediderim,' &c.

2. **decumates.** This adj. is ἅπ. εἰρ. The analogy of 'supernas,' 'infernas' would make it a form of 'decumus,' but that of 'Campas' or 'Campans' (Plaut.) would allow us to take it as equivalent to 'decumanus.' Some would take it (with Creuzer) as nominat. with 'qui,' but it appears to go better with 'agros' (to which we should certainly expect some defining adjective to be added), and is probably an official designation, and is generally taken to mean 'subject to tithe,' like 'ager decumanus' in Cic. Verr. 2. 3, 6, 13. The district is that of the upper Neckar and other adjacent territory between the Rhine and Danube, the subsequent Schwaben, now part of Würtemberg, and would include the 'Helvetian desert' (see on c. 28, 2). The term seems evidently to describe the tenure of the territory before it became part of the province, but we have no evidence of any kind to explain it (see Mommsen, l.l. p. 152). It is known that elsewhere on the frontier extensive tracts, capable of supporting large numbers of occupiers, were left waste, nominally as pasture for beasts to provision the troops, but in far greater extent than was required for that purpose (see A. 13. 54, 2; 55, 3), and no doubt with the real object of keeping the enemy at a distance. There is perhaps something in the suggestion that formal permission to settle on such land, which rested with the emperor, and in the case referred to above was absolutely refused, may here (where the territory must have been much larger) have been granted; the squatters having to take their own risk of the 'dubia possessio' and to pay tithes of produce, possibly for the commissariat of the soldiers.

3. **exercent**, 'cultivate'; so in Agr. 31, 3, &c.

levissimus quisque, 'the most worthless.' The land thus belongs ethnologically to Gaul, though geographically to Germany. For the change to the positive in 'audax' cp. A. 1. 48, 3.

4. **dubiae possessionis**, from its liability to invasion by the Germans.

limite acto: cp. 'limitem agit' (Verg. Aen. 10, 514). The word 'limes,' originally meaning the balk or path separating the land of different persons, is used of the road driven along the frontier where the empire had no natural boundaries (cp. A. 1. 50, 2; 2. 7, 4). It could be crossed only at certain points where forts (cp. 'promotis praesidiis') were erected, and tolls levied, and was protected in the remaining space by barricades. See Mommsen, l.l. p. 122, note. The 'limes' here spoken of is that shown on maps and preserved in considerable portions, which was the work of various emperors and, when completed, probably among the great defensive works of Hadrian (Vit. Hadr. 12, 6; Dio, 69. 9, 1), extended from the Rhine near the Lahn to the Danube near Regensburg (Ratisbon). For some general account of its course and character, it may be sufficient to refer to the notes here of SS. SS[2]. and Z., also to Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 277, and especially to Mommsen, l.l. pp. 154, foll. The portion of which Tacitus speaks must be that which had been laid out at a recent date by Domitian, whom he purposely forbears to mention. It is evident that that emperor's war with the Chatti in A. D. 83 was not barren, as the historian makes it (see c. 37, 6; Agr. 39, 3),

promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

30. Ultra hos Chatti: initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohatur, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles,

4. incohatur B. inchoant or incohant others. 5. durans b^1 (Mf.) b^2 (Halm), durat M.

but led to a considerable permanent extension of the Roman frontier. On this we have the trustworthy military evidence of the contemporary Frontinus, who says of Domitian (Strat. 1. 3, 10), 'limitibus per centum et viginti milia passuum actis non mutavit tantum statum belli sed et subiecit dicioni suae hostes, quorum refugia nudaverat.' This portion is taken to have been in the Taunus district (see Mommsen, l. l. p. 150, note), but must have extended far enough to directly benefit the settlers in the 'agri decumates' by giving them security so far as they bordered on the formidable Chatti. Where they fronted the friendly Hermunduri the river seems to have been as yet the boundary (see c. 41, 1). It may generally be taken to be the case that the provincial frontier in this quarter was, in effect, advanced under Domitian to the limit which the completed 'limes' made permanent: by him, or perhaps earlier, a centre of Roman worship, similar to others elsewhere (see on A. 1. 39, 1), was probably set up at 'Arae Flaviae' (Rottweil, near the source of the Neckar), and very soon after Tacitus was writing, a military road was opened up by Trajan (see Mommsen, l. l. p. 153), and a beginning may probably from this time be dated of the growth in population and trade which afterwards made the region prosperous (Marquardt, l. l. p. 278).

1. **sinus**, 'a recess' (cp. c. 1, 1; 37, 1, &c.), bending inwards to Germany.

provinciae, of Upper Germany, and also partly of Raetia.

2. **habentur**, 'are reckoned' (cp. A. 2. 55, 4). The grammatical subject is 'ii qui . . . exercent'; the logical the lands themselves.

3. **hos.** The Mattiaci, as well as the inhabitants of the 'decumates agri,' seem referred to.

Chatti. On these see Momms. l. l. pp. 149–152. They occupied the highland tract, including the basin of the Eder and other tributaries of the upper Weser, where their name survives in the modern Hessen. They were not known to Caesar, unless they are his 'Suebi,' but except during the short supremacy of Arminius (see c. 36, 1), they are the most constant and most powerful enemies of Rome in Western Germany, though their action is hampered by their feuds with their own neighbours the Cherusci (c. 36, 2, A. 12. 28, 2) and Hermunduri (A. 13. 57, 1). They had been lately the object of Domitian's attack (see on c. 29, 3), and continue to be heard of until they are absorbed into the Franks.

initium . . . incohatur. This pleonasm is found in Livy, 3. 54, 9; 39. 23, 5, and other similar ones in Tacitus, as 'initio orto' (H. 1. 39, 3, &c.) 'principium . . . . inciperet' (A. 13. 10, 2), &c. Most recent edd. read 'incohant' or 'inchoant.'

Hercynio: see on c. 28, 2. The part here meant would be on the north of the Main.

4. **effusis**, 'extending on a level,' 'extensive': cp. 'effusissimum . . . sinum' (Vell. 2. 43, 1).

5. **durant**, &c. The punctuation and meaning of this passage are much disputed. It seems best, with Halm, to make 'colles' the subject of both verbs, so that 'durant' would answer to 'prosequitur' and 'rarescunt' to 'deponit.' The meaning would thus be, 'since the hills last through their territory, gradually open out (cp. 'rarescent claustra Pelori,' Verg. Aen. 3, 411), and the Hercynian forest conducts its own Chatti to its limits and sets them down on the plain' (i.e. they end where the hills end). The next best alternative appears to be that of Z., who places a semicolon before and a comma after 'durant,' and then no stop until 'rarescunt,' making 'Chatti' the subject of the former verb,

paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prose-
quitur simul atque deponit. duriora genti corpora, stricti **2**
artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. multum, ut inter
Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire
praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre im-
petus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia,
virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi
Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam
in exercitu. omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferra- **3**
mentis quoque et copiis onerant: alios ad proelium ire videas,

1. paulatimque Rhen. 2. ac B b[1]. 8. ratione c b[2], rōē C, Romanae B b[1].

and 'colles' of the latter; i.e. the Chatti begin within the mountain range, extend continuously as it opens out, and end where it ends. For other views see SS[2]., K., and C. B. Others would adopt the v. l. 'durans' (referred to 'initium'), or read 'durantes.' (with 'colles'). Pramm. strikes out 'durant' altogether. Tacitus would appear in any case to mean that the Chatti extended to the plain of north Germany, which is incorrect.

1. **prosequitur .... deponit**: for such personifications cp. 'bellum aperuit' (c. 1, 1), 'caespes erigit' (c. 27, 2), and others noted in Introd. p. 11.

2. **simul atque**, here equivalent to 'et' . . . 'et': cp. c. 12, 3; 31, 4.

stricti, 'close knit' (C. B.), sinewy.

3. **et**, adding a mental quality to the physical traits denoted by the asyndeta.

animi vigor, 'activity of mind': cp. Liv. 9. 16, 12.

ut inter Germanos (qualifying 'multum'), 'as the standard is among Germans'; so 'magno ut inter barbaros praelio' (as read by Halm in A. 11. 17, 5): in c. 2, 4; 22, 2, the meaning is different.

4. **rationis**, 'method'; the historical infinitives which follow are epexegetical nominatives in apposition.

praeponere electos. This is generally taken to mean that they had no hereditary rulers (see Introd. p. 19, note 17): possibly the stress is on 'electos.' They choose leaders carefully, and obey them ('audire'). Germans in general did not obey the command of their leaders, but followed their example (c. 7, 1).

5. **nosse ordines**, 'know their place in the ranks,' like a Roman soldier in his century. The Germans had an order of battle (c. 6, 5), but less exact.

intellegere occasiones, 'to notice (not overlook) opportunities': cp. 'terga occasioni patefecit' (Agr. 14, 4).

differre, 'reserve for the right moment.'

6. **disponere diem**, 'to map out the day' (have regular hours for different duties); so in Sen. Cons. ad Pol. 6, 4; Pl. Ep. 9. 36, 1; Suet. Tib. 11.

vallare noctem = 'noctu castra vallare' (make night safe by defences), a strained attempt at concise antithesis to 'disponere diem.' Cp. Introd. p. 9.

fortunam, &c., i.e. not to reckon on luck.

8. **concessum**, 'granted by the favour of heaven,' a grandiloquent exaggeration suited to Roman pride. Some have adopted the reading 'ratione disciplinae' ('by a system of discipline').

plus reponere, more fully 'plus spei repositum' (Livy, 2. 39, 1).

9. **omne robur**, somewhat stronger than what is said of the Germans generally in c. 6, 4: cp. c. 32, 2.

super, 'besides,' a sense frequent in and after Livy.

ferramentis, 'tools,' as spades, axes, mattocks, &c.

10. **copiis**, 'provisions' (H. 2. 32, 3, &c.).

ad proelium . . . ad bellum; 'to fight a battle' . . . 'to carry on a cam-

Chattos ad bellum. rari excursus et fortuita pugna. equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

31. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum.
2 super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi rettulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus
3 ferunt: ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti)

1. raro C. 5. rara B[1] c, raro b B[2] C. 10. noscendi B[1] b C, text B[2] c H. 12. id genti om. C.

paign': the same contrast is expressed in H. 2. 40, 1.

1. **excursus**, 'sudden dashes' (cp. 'subitis excursibus,' Agr. 20, 2): 'rara est' is again supplied with 'pugna.'

2. **sane**, i.e. no wonder this is so with an army of infantry; 'horsemen soon win a victory, soon give way; fleetness approaches (so 'iuxta' answers to 'propior' in A. 6. 42, 3) timidity, deliberateness (so in H. 3. 20, 1; here of the movements of foot soldiers) is nearer to steadiness.' For 'parare,' Heraeus and Halm read 'parere' (referring to c. 42, 1), but cp. c. 24, 2; Dial. 36, 4, &c. Eussner would insert 'ceteris' before 'velocitas.'

5. **Et aliis.** Here 'et' is taken with 'usurpatum' in the sense of 'id quod aliis etiam . . . usurpatum, sed raro.' Some omit it or alter it to 'in.'

populis, dative, as in c. 16, 1, &c.

usurpatum raro, 'what is a rare practice' (in appos. with the infinitive subjects 'submittere,' 'exuere'). For this use of the participle as subject with the force of a relative sentence, cp. 'observatum' (H. 1. 18, 2), 'usitatum' (Agr. 1, 1), &c.

6. **audentia**, causal abl. ('as a result of individual daring') with 'usurpatum.' The word is used in c. 34, 3; A. 15. 53, 3, and a few other places in silver Latin for 'audacia,' but in a good sense only. The point of the 'audentia' lies in 'nec . . . exuere.'

in consensum vertit, 'has become universal'; Z. compares 'in consuetudinem vertantur' (H. 4. 65, 4).

7. **submittere**, 'to let grow wild'; so in Sen., Plin. Ep., Suet., for the more classical 'crinem promittere.' Germans usually wore their hair long, but not wholly unshorn, and kept it in some order (cp. c. 38, 2), as contrasted with the 'squalor' here.

8. **votivum.** Civilis discharges himself of such a vow (H. 4. 61, 1), and similar instances are given of later Saxons and of the Norseman Harold Harfagr (SS.). Suet. records a similar vow taken by Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 67) after a disaster.

obligatum virtuti, 'dedicated (i.e. by which they had dedicated themselves) to valour.'

9. **super sanguinem et spolia**, rhetorical, 'as they stand over the slain and despoiled enemy.'

tum demum, &c., 'not till then have they repaid their country and parents for having reared them up': from the Greek phrases *θρέπτρα* (or *τροφεῖα*) *ἀποδοῦναι*.

11. **ignavis et imbellibus**, cp. c. 12, 1. The sentence goes with the preceding, and Tacitus seems not to have noticed its inconsistency with what follows.

12. **insuper**, besides the vow of the hair. Mf. notes that the iron ring was probably worn on the arm (as an insolvent

velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. plu- 4
rimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, iamque canent insignes
et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. omnium penes hos initia
pugnarum; haec prima semper acies, visu nova: nam ne in
pace quidem cultu mitiore mansuescunt. nulli domus aut 5
ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur,
prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus
tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

32. Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique
terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri 2

1. absolverit b[1]. 5. vultu B b, cultu C c. 6. rura B[1] b[1]. 7. exangues b.

debtor wore it in token of servitude), and denoted that the wearer was under a bond or vow (cp. 'vinculum' and 'absolvat') to some god (probably Tiu). Aristotle notes (Pol. 7. 2, 6) the Macedonian institution of wearing a halter till they had slain an enemy.

id, i.e. 'anulum gestare': it was a disgrace generally, except as part of such a vow.

1. **plurimis,** 'to very many' (c. 17, 4, &c.): 'placet' is emphatic, and 'habitus' (c. 17, 3, &c.) is used of both the long unkempt hair and the ring. There are many who even take pride in it, and instead of laying it aside when they have slain an enemy, wear it all their life long. SS. notes the resemblance to the 'Berserker' of the north, popularly known to us through Kingsley, Hereward, ch. 12, foll.

2. **iamque canent** = 'sunt qui iam caneant,' 'there are greyheaded men thus conspicuous.'

3. **monstrati,** 'marked for distinction': cp. 'monstratus fatis Vespasianus' (Agr. 13, 14), 'vetusto nomine . . . monstratus' (H. 1. 88, 1).

penes hos, 'rest with them' (cp. c. 6, 4): 'haec,' 'composed of these.'

4. **nova** = 'insolita' (cp. c. 43, 6): Freinsh. would read 'torva,' explained by 'nam,' which may otherwise be explanatory of 'semper': they are always available.

5. **cultu**; so most recent edd. (others 'vultu'): 'even in peace they do not soften themselves by a less fierce exterior,' or mode of life (cp. c. 43, 1; 46, 1).

6. **aliqua cura,** 'occupation of any sort' ('cura alicuius rei').

7. **prodigi,** &c., imitated from the 'alieni adpetens sui profusus' of Sall. Cat. 5. 4: cp. the contrast in H. 1. 49, 5.

exsanguis senectus, an expression taken from Lucan, 1. 343.

8. **tam durae virtuti,** 'such severe heroism.'

9. **certum iam alveo,** 'having now a definite channel.' The words are an evident reminiscence of Mela (3. 2, 24), who after speaking of the descent of the Rhine from the Alps and its passage through Lake Constance, adds 'mox diu solidus et certo alveo lapsus.' This, and the words that here follow seem to show that the contrast intended by Tacitus was not to the divided Rhine of the Batavian district, but to the upper Rhine, which was not a frontier at all but was replaced by the 'limes' (c. 29, 3–4), though he speaks as if unaware that the stream in all that part of its course was not so inconsiderable as to have been incapable of forming a natural boundary.

10. **Usipi,** the Usipii of Mart. 6.60, 3, Usipetes (with Celtic termination) of A. 1. 51, 4, & Caes. 4. 1, 1. In the time of Caesar they lived low down the Rhine between the Yssel and Lippe, afterwards between the latter and the Ruhr. A portion at least appear still later to have taken up a position near Mainz, and are found with the Chatti and Mattiaci (H. 4. 37, 4), with the latter of whom they appear to have become subject to Rome in Domitian's

super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tenc-
3 teris equitum. sic instituere maiores: posteri imitantur. hi lusus infantium, haec iuvenum aemulatio: perseverant senes.
4 inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi traduntur: excipit filius, non ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

33. Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios inmigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris

9. chamanos b, angrinarios b[1], anguinarios C.

time (cp. Agr. 28, 1, and note). See Momms. v. E. T. p. 151, note. Tacitus avoids mentioning this, and gives their mere name only.

Tencteri: so now read for 'Tenctheri' in Caes. 4. 1, 1, &c. They appear to have shared the earlier movements of the Usipi (see Mf. cited by SS[2].), and to have lived at this time above the Ruhr along the Rhine, nearly opposite to the Ubii (H. 4. 64, 1), and extending upwards to the Lahn: they were afterwards absorbed into the Alemanni.

colunt, i. e. 'ripam eius accolunt' (cp. c. 28, 4).

1. **solitum**, that of Germans generally.

equestris disciplinae arte, 'in skill of horsemanship.'

2. **Tencteris**, varied to dative instead of repeating 'apud.'

3. **hi**, 'of this kind,' referring to 'equestris disciplinae ars.'

5. **inter**, &c., 'as part of the domestic establishment and household chattels, and subjects of rightful inheritance' ('penates' as in c. 15, 1, &c.).

6. **excipit**, 'succeeds to them' (cp. c. 34, 1; Agr. 14, 3). There is some inconsistency with 'traduntur,' as the horses are said not to have passed by general rule; but Tacitus seems only to mean by it that they were kept in the family and inherited by one of its members.

maximus natu. This has caused a difficulty, as a law or custom of primogeniture is not generally found among early Germans (cp. c. 20, 5). Tacitus may mean to note it as peculiar to the Tencteri, or perhaps to speak of the eldest son as the one on whom the whole estate devolved, and who had to distribute it. See note in SS[2].

prout, &c., i. e. the one who is most so.

7. **bello**, repeated with 'melior': cp. 'ferox bello' (Hor. Od. 1. 32, 6), and the frequent use of 'ferox' and 'ferocia' in a good sense (Agr. 27, 1; 31, 4; H. 1. 51, 1, &c.).

8. **Iuxta**: i. e. in their rear further from the river. They more strictly bordered on the Usipi.

Bructeri. These are found among the enemies of Varus (A. 1. 60, 4) and of Germanicus (A. 1. 51, 4, &c.). They lived near the sources of the Ems and Lippe, and on both banks of the middle Ems (Momms. l. l. p. 145), and were occupying this district in A.D. 58 (A. 13. 56, 4), and were important enemies in 70, when their prophetess Velaeda (see c. 8, 3) was influential. Strabo and Ptol. distinguish them into 'minores' and 'maiores.'

9. **Chamavos.** These are found earlier near the lower Rhine (A. 13. 55, 5); their name appears to survive in that of the mediaeval district Hamaland, near Münster. The termination, like that of 'Batavi,' appears to be Celtic. Some have identified them with the 'Bructeri maiores,' and supposed the struggle here mentioned to have been a civil war.

Angrivarios. These are found in A.D. 16 on the middle Weser, bordering on the Cherusci (A. 2. 19, 3), and are thought by Mf. to be closely related to, or perhaps confused with, the Ampsivarii of A. 13. 55, 1. Grimm takes the name to mean 'dwellers in meadows'

ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum seu superbiae
odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos
deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. super 2
sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod mag-
nificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. maneat,
quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium
sui, quando urguentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare for-
tuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

34. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubnii et Chasuarii

7. urgentibus iam B b, in urgentibus C c, ingentibus H M, in vergentibus Arundel, ingruentibus Bährens. 9. dulgibini, dulgitubini, &c. MSS., text Jac. Grimm. thasuarii B, tasuarii b, occasuarii C, chasudrii c, text H M S.

('Angar'), and it is thought to survive in that of Enger near Herford.

narratur. The expression would show that Tacitus is not speaking from personal knowledge. This verb is rarely used with acc. and inf.: cp. 'aves tunc siluisse narratur' (Pl. N. H. 35. 11, 38. 121).

pulsis, &c., at some unknown date after A.D. 70: Vestricius Spurinna set up a king over them about the date of this treatise, at which time they are still called warlike (Pl. Ep. 2. 7, 2), and mention occurs of them down to the eighth century: 'excisis' is therefore exaggerated.

2. **odio,** &c., causal ablative joined to the instrumental 'consensu' ('by the common action').

3. **ne spectaculo quidem,** &c., 'they did not even grudge us the sight of a battle': 'spectaculo' is probably to be taken as dat. (the usual classical construction), though Tacitus uses 'invideo' with abl. in A. 1. 22, 2. Cp. 'invidit operi' (A. 13. 53, 4). He speaks as if some Roman force was watching the event of the conflict.

5. **oblectationi oculisque,** 'for them to be delighted by, and to behold' (dat. of purpose and hendiadys). The terrible inhumanity of the sentiment may be partly due to a Roman's fondness for gladiatorial shows, but much more to the sense of security to the empire in the quarrels of its foes: cp. Agr. 12, 2; A. 2. 62, 1; Liv. 2. 40, 13.

maneat; so used in aspiration or prayer in A. 3. 55, 6.

7. **quando,** 'since'; so often in Liv., occasionally in Cic. and Sall.

urguentibus imperii fatis, 'while the destinies of the empire drive it on.' The resemblance to Livy 5. 36, 6 ('iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis') and Luc. 10, 29 ('fatis urgentibus actus'), and other passages, supports this reading as against 'vergentibus' (which could hardly be so used) or 'ingruentibus' (more properly used of force, &c., than of destiny); but the 'iam' added in the best MSS. can hardly stand unless it is omitted below. The allusion seems to be to the danger which he foresaw might arise from the people of the hardy north to the corrupt and degenerate civilization of Rome. It is possible that a grave crisis had been threatened in A.D. 88 by the intended, but accidentally frustrated, combination of Germans (probably Chatti) with the rebellion of Antonius Saturninus against Domitian (Suet. Dom. 6). The date of this work makes it impossible to suppose (with Orelli) that the reference is to the dangerous extension of the empire by Trajan.

9. **a tergo,** to the east.

Dulgubnii, the Δουλγούμνιοι of Ptol. 2. 11, 17. The name has been thought to mean 'wounders,' and their situation may probably have been between the Cherusci and Langobardi in part of Hanover near Zell, on the Leine and Aller. Some place them further west.

Chasuarii, the Κασουάροι of Ptol. 2. 11, 22, but probably not the Χαττουάριοι of Strab. 7. 1, 4, 292. If the

cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae, a fronte
Frisii excipiunt. maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum
est ex modo virium. utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum
Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque inmensos insuper lacus et
2 Romanis classibus navigatos. ipsum quin etiam Oceanum
illa temptavimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama
vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum

7. magnu; B, text b (in erasure) C c.

name is rightly taken to mean 'dwellers on the Hase' (an eastern tributary of the Ems), their district would mainly coincide with parts of Oldenburg and Osnabrück.

1. **cludunt**, a form sometimes used by Tacitus (e.g. c. 45, 1, 6), Quint., &c., not in Cic.

aliae gentes, perhaps the Tubantes of A. 1. 51, 4, and others filling the place of the Sugambri, who had been taken across the Rhine.

haud perinde memoratae, perhaps not here 'less spoken of' (as those already mentioned do not seem to be famous), but 'not much spoken of' (cp. c. 5, 3).

a fronte, like 'a tergo,' from the Roman point of view, looking from the Rhine, i.e. on the west.

2. **Frisii.** These lived always between the Yssel and the lower Ems, and their name is still preserved in that of Friesland. The distinction into 'maiores' and 'minores' (found here alone), may coincide with that of Frisii and Frisiabones in Plin. 4. 15, 29, 101. They are first known as subdued by Drusus, and as in dependence on Rome till their revolt in A.D. 28 (A. 4. 72, 1), then as again reduced by Corbulo in A.D. 47 (A. 11. 19, 1), and as having joined the revolt of Civilis (H. 4. 15. 4; 79, 3). It is probable (see A. 13, 54) that the eastern portion, coinciding with one of the divisions above given, retained its independence (see Momms. v. E. T. i. 126, note).

excipiunt, 'follow on,' come next to.

3. **ex modo**, 'according to the measure of.'

4. **praetexuntur**, 'are bordered.' Z. notes the similar geographical use in Plin. 6. 25, 29, 112, 'montes . . . qui omnes has gentes praetexunt.'

ambiunt, 'dwell around.'

insuper, besides the Rhine bank. The lakes (cp. A. 1, 60, 3, &c.) comprise Lake Flevo and others, merged in the Zuyder Zee since the end of the thirteenth century.

et, explanatory ('those which have been').

5. **Romanis classibus**, dat. of agent (cp. c. 16, 1, &c.): those of Drusus in B.C. 12, and of Germanicus in A.D. 15, 16, are especially meant.

6. **illa**, 'in that quarter' (cp. H. 3, 8, 3; 5. 18, 3; A. 2. 17, 6). The chief voyages along the coast of the North Sea were those of Drusus and Tiberius (see on c. 1, 1), and those of Germanicus to the mouth of the Ems and back (see A. 1. 60, 3; 70, 1; 2. 23–24).

superesse, 'remained to be explored.'

Herculis columnas. At a later date there is a record (see Grimm, Mythol. E. T. i. 115 foll.) of idols in Germany called 'Irminsûlî,' apparently columns surmounted by a head, like the Athenian Hermae. The word is taken by Grimm to mean no more than 'huge pillars,' but would no doubt be popularly supposed to mean 'pillars of Irmin,' who is taken to be the German Hercules (see Introd. p. 28). It is tempting to suppose in this passage some vague reference to a traveller's tale of such columns, but it is equally possible that the belief here mentioned has no definite basis. It would be natural to imagine something in the distant north, answering to the well-known Calpe and Abyla; and Wuodan as a wanderer might answer no less to Hercules than to Ulysses (see Introd. pp. 27, 29).

est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. nec defuit audentia 3
Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque
in Herculem inquiri. mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac
reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

35. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus; in septentrionem ingenti flexu recedit. ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet,

1. consueuimus H. 6. redit all, recedit Heraeus, Halm. caucorum b. 7. Frisis B b C c.

1. **in claritatem eius referre,** 'to assign to his glory.'

consensimus, not necessarily 'nos Romani,' but general belief, as implied in 'fama vulgavit.'

2. **Druso Germanico.** The brother of Tiberius is so spoken of in H. 5. 19, 2. The surname was not given till after his death, and was borne by his posterity. Suet. (Cl. 1) calls him the first Roman who sailed the North Sea, and the same language is used of his expedition or that of Tiberius in 'Monumentum Ancyranum,' v. 14 (see on c. 1, 1): 'classis mea per Oceanum ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regiones usque ad fines Cimbrorum navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit.' It is somewhat strange that no other explorer is here noticed, hence the suggested readings 'Druso, Germanico,' 'Druso et Germanico,' 'Druso, Neroni, Germanico' (cp. c. 37, 5).

obstitit, here alone with acc. and inf., analogous to the use of 'prohibere' in H. 1. 62, 4; A. 1. 69, 1; 4. 37, 4. The Ocean is personified, as above in 'temptavimus,' &c., and conceived to resent the inquiry as an intrusion.

3. **mox,** 'afterwards': cp. c. 2, 5.

sanctiusque ac reverentius, 'more in accordance with piety and reverence.' Perhaps he speaks ironically, as he seems to regret the want of enterprise (c. 41, 2).

4. **actis,** with reference to 'adiit' and 'magnificum.'

5. **Hactenus,** local, 'to this point': cp. Mela 3. 1, 11 ('hactenus ad occidentem,' &c.). Some stress seems laid on 'novimus' ('so far to the west is Germany well known'), as he here passes to a less known region.

6. **ingenti flexu,** the 'sinus' of c. 37, 1, and c. 1, 1. He appears to mean the great recess of Jutland, which he perhaps took to be a general extension of the coast, rather than a peninsula, and to begin further westward.

recedit. This reading is confirmed by the appearance of a reminiscence of a sentence in Mela 3. 1, 8 ('in illam partem quae recessit ingens flexus aperitur'). On the other hand the MS. text 'redit' is supported by the 'redit . . . Rhodope' of Verg. G. 3, 351.

Chaucorum. This people lived along the coast from the Ems perhaps to the Elbe, and were divided into 'maiores' and 'minores' (A. 11. 19, 3), parted by the Weser. Their territory would thus answer to part of Hanover, Oldenburg, and Bremen. In part at least they were subject to Rome under Tiberius (A. 1. 38, 1; 60, 3; 2. 17, 7), but afterwards revolted or were let go, probably from A.D. 17. Corbulo was prevented from attacking them in A.D. 47 (A. 11. 19, 6), and they are found in arms with Civilis (H. 4. 79, 3; 5. 19, 1). The account given of them by Tacitus is far more applicable to them as a whole than that of Pliny, whose general description of them (16. 1, 1) as living on hillocks or platforms surrounded at high tide, and gaining a miserable subsistence by fishing, could only be true of those on the extreme coast. The name is thought to be from a word signifying 'the high,' probably in reference to stature (cp. Vell. 2. 106, 1, cited below), or perhaps to superiority (cp. § 4).

7. **quamquam incipiat:** cp. c. 28, 5.

omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec
2 in Chattos usque sinuetur. tam inmensum terrarum spatium
non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter
Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit
3 iustitia tueri. sine cupididate, sine impotentia, quieti secre-
tique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis
4 populantur. id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum
est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur; prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat [exercitus], plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

36. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt: idque iucun-

1. optenditur b. 2. nam B b[1]. terrarum om. C. 4. suam om. C. maluit B, malint b, text b[2] C c H M S. 9. et b, ac B C c. [exercitus] Walch, Halm, Mr., om. Z.

1. **omnium.** We should suppose the reference to be to all those mentioned since c. 30, but the Usipi and Tencteri cannot really be included, nor is it possible to suppose that the Chauci bordered anywhere on the Chatti. The suggestion (see SS.) that he has confused them with the Chaulci (who are taken to be the same as the Angrivarii), and has for the moment ignored the Cherusci as no longer independent of the Chatti, is not very probable.

lateribus, the northern frontier.

obtenditur, so used in Agr. 10, 2, &c. Halm and Mf. read 'optenditur.'

donec, &c., 'till it takes a bend extending (southwards) to the Chatti.'

3. **sed et** (cp. c. 15, 3) **implent.** In Vell. 2. 106, 1 this tribe is described as 'infinita numero, immensa corporibus.'

4. **nobilissimus,** explained by what follows. They are contrasted with other Germans.

5. **impotentia,** ἀκράτεια, 'ungovernableness'; often used in this sense, as is also 'impotens.'

secreti, 'retired': the Romans could only reach them through several other peoples or by sea.

8. **quod, ut,** &c., 'that it is not by aggression that they win the right to stand preeminent.' For 'agere' in the sense of 'se gerere' cp. Agr. 5, 2; 7, 5; 9, 2, &c.; for a similar clause as object of 'adsequor' cp. c. 46, 5.

9. **exercitus.** Those who do not take this to be a gloss on the following words would explain it to mean an organized army, as distinct from 'arma,' and place it between commas, taking 'plurimum,' &c., as in apposition. It cannot well be object of 'poscat,' as 'res poscit' (absol.) is a formula (cp. c. 44, 2; H. 1. 79, 7; 2. 5, 1, &c.). Others read 'ad exercitum,' or 'exercitui,' or 'plurimum enim.'

10. **et quiescentibus,** &c., 'and while they are at peace they have the same character' (that of being ready for war). The corresponding clause to 'eadem fama' is left to be supplied from sense.

11. **In latere,** south-east of the former, north-east of the latter.

Cherusci. The name is taken to mean 'swordsmen.' They lived between the middle Weser and middle Elbe, bordering in part on the Angrivarii (A. 2. 19, 3), and known to Caesar (6. 10, 5) as parted from the Suebi (perhaps Chatti) by the silva Bacenis (Hartz). Their district would thus answer to parts of Hanover, Brunswick, &c. At the date of this treatise, Tacitus seems hardly to have been aware of their prominence, under Arminius, in the resistance to Rome from A.D. 9–17; before and after which they seem not to have been important. They received a king from Rome in A.D. 47 (A. 11. 16, 1).

12. **marcentem,** 'enfeebling'; so

dius quam tutius fuit, quia inter inpotentes et validos falso
quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina
superioris sunt. ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc **2**
inertes ac stulti vocantur: Chattis victoribus fortuna in sa-
pientiam cessit. tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, conter- **3**
mina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in
secundis minores fuissent.

37. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri

2. nomine all, nomina superiori Heins., text Put. 5. tacti B b C S, text c H M. fusi B b[1], fosi b[2] C c H. 8. situm b. cymbri b, and below.

'marcentia pocula' (Stat. Silv. 4. 6, 56); more commonly 'enfeebled' (as in H. 3. 36, 2). Other causes, as internal feuds (A. 11. 16, 1), and constant warfare with the Chatti (A. 12. 28, 2), had no doubt also weakened them.

inlacessiti, only here and in Agr. 20, 3.

nutrierunt, 'have indulged in.'

1. **inpotentes**: cp. 'impotentia' (c. 35, 3).

falso quiescas, 'it is vain to think of being at peace.' They must at least, like the Chauci (c. 35, 4), keep up a strong defensive force.

2. **nomina superioris** (so nearly all edd.), 'moderation and justice become the titles of the stronger'; i.e. what is so styled in their conduct is despised as folly and cowardice (cp. 'inertes ac stulti') in the weak. The reading 'nomina superiori,' adopted by Halm, would give the meaning 'are names (and nothing more) to the stronger'; a sense somewhat supported by 'nomen exercitus' (H. 4. 15, 6), but less suitable to the context. Among other suggestions are 'ignominiae superiori' (Halm), and 'nomina ignaviae (cp. Sen. Ep. 45, 7) superiori' (Müller).

3. **olim**, during their peaceful life: 'vocati sunt' is supplied from 'vocantur' (cp. c. 2, 5).

4. **Chattis victoribus**. This victory probably took place at the time (perhaps A.D. 85) when Dio mentions (67. 5, 1) that the Cheruscan king Chariomerus sought Roman aid against the Chatti, but received from Domitian only money.

in sapientiam cessit, 'went for (was counted as) wisdom': they were believed to have planned out the success which they really owed to luck. Z. cites 'id illi in sapientiam cesserat,' from a fragment of Sallust, and Tacitus has 'cedere in solatium' (H. 2. 59, 5), 'gloriam' (A. 14. 54, 5).

5. **tracti**, 'dragged in.' This alternative for 'tacti' is supported by 'quae . . . ruina sua traxit' (H. 3. 29, 2), and 'Agrippinae pernicies . . . Plancinam traxit' (A. 6. 26, 4).

Fosi, only here mentioned. It is thought that they may have lived in the district of Burgdorf, near the city of Hanover, on the Fuhse, a small tributary of the Aller.

6. **ex aequo**, 'equally' (ἐξ ἴσου), so in H. 2. 77, 3; 97, 2, &c. Other such adverbial expressions with this prep. are found, as 'ex facili' (Agr. 15, 1; H. 3. 42, 1), &c.

7. **minores**, 'in inferior position.'

8. **Eundem**, &c. He had turned aside from the geographical order of mention to bring in the Cherusci, and now returns to it. It has been thought that he may have wished to bring together the Cherusci and the Cimbri as the most formidable German enemies of Rome, but he certainly here does not speak of the former as such. He may have chosen to mention the Cimbri last of the non-Suebic peoples, both as being most remote, and because the break in the narrative gave a good place for the appended digression. It has been thought that this, or even the whole chapter, show marks of being a subsequent insertion by the writer.

sinum, 'bend of land,' the 'ingens flexus' of c. 35, 1 (Jutland). The geography is less clear than that

tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis
2 et tam magni exitus fidem. sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus. ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum com-

3. ambitum B^1 C c. 6. ac C c, et B b.

of Pliny or even Mela. The latter (3. 3, 4; 3. 6, 7) places the Cimbri (and Teutons) on the 'sinus Codanus' beyond the Elbe; the former speaks distinctly (2. 67, 167; 4. 13, 27, 96) of the 'Cimbrorum promunturium' (the Κιμβρικὴ χερσόνησος of Ptol. 2. 11, 2). Strabo, probably through a confused account of their former habitation (see note below), wrongly places them in his time on the coast between the Rhine and Elbe (7. 2, 4, 294). The Teutons, formerly associated with them, and still mentioned by Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, may have been noticed by Tacitus elsewhere (see on c. 40, 1). The Charydes (see next note) are also placed here by Ptol. (2. 11, 12).

Cimbri. After their great defeat in B.C. 101, they are next mentioned in the account of Roman exploration in the time of Augustus in Mon. Anc. (see on c. 34, 3), where it is added 'Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt' (see also Strab. l. l. 293; Vell. 2, 106, 1; Plin. l. l.). The tribes of the great invasion were for a long time (see Introd. p. 17) looked upon as Gauls, but are clearly distinguished as Germans by Caesar (1. 40, 5, &c.), and the connexion of Cimbri and Cymry is now taken to be an error. They no doubt gathered Celtic peoples to themselves in their wanderings, and most of the information respecting them came to Romans through Gallic mouths. Hence the name 'Cimbri' appears to be a Celtic (though taken in Plut. Mar. 11 to be German) appellative ('robbers'), and the names of the kings ('Teutobocchus' and 'Boiorix'), if really German, have taken Gallic forms. The whole subject is very fully treated in Mf. Deutsche Altertumskunde, ii: see also Momms. Hist. E. T. iii. p. 178. It is the opinion of Mf. that in the narrative of the invasion Livy and Plutarch used Posidonius, and that later Latin writers rest on Livy.

1. **parva nunc civitas.** They fade altogether out of subsequent history; Ptol. probably follows only tradition in mentioning them, and it is even doubtful whether at this date they had any distinct existence.

gloria, best taken as abl. of respect: cp. '(Vardanes) regreditur ingens gloria' (A. 11. 10, 5).

2. **utraque ripa.** This cannot be taken (with Ritt.) to mean one on the Rhine and one on the Danube, or (with Mf.) to mean the two coasts of Jutland. The two sides of the Rhine must be meant, but nothing more is known of the locality.

castra ac spatia, hendiadys for 'castrorum spatia' or 'castra spatiosa.'

3. **molem manusque,** 'the multitude and the number of hands at work'; so a camp is said 'trium legionum manus ostentare' (A. 1. 61, 3).

4. **exitus,** 'emigration.' Caesar so used 'exire finibus' (1. 5, 1), or 'exire' (1. 33, 4), of nations leaving their home. Mf. makes the Cimbri to have then dwelt on the middle Elbe, the Teutons in north-west Germany.

fidem, 'the credibility': cp. c. 39, 1.

sescentesimum et quadragesimum. The consuls are those of A.U.C. 641 (according to the Varronian era), A.D. 113; when the Cimbri and Teutons crossed the Rhine (Vell. 2. 8, 3) and made their way to Illyricum (Liv. Epit. 63). Here and below Tacitus is inaccurate, or uses round numbers.

7. **alterum . . . consulatum.** Tra-

putemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur: tam diu Germania vincitur. medio tam longi aevi spatio multa in 3
vicem damna. non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. quid enim aliud 4
nobis quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit? at Germani Carbone et 5
Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque

6. et ipso et ipse B b C c S, text H M. 8. L. Cassio Ritt. Marco quoque (or Marcoque) Manlio MSS, text Halm, &c.

jan became Cos. II., with Nerva, Cos. IV, on Jan. 1, A.D. 98; and became emperor on the death of the latter, Jan. 25. The reckoning is important as fixing the date of this book.

1. **ducenti ferme**, strictly 210 years.

colliguntur, 'are summed up'; so 'centum et viginti anni . . . colliguntur' (Dial. 17, 3).

tam diu Germania vincitur. The last word is ironical, 'so long takes our (so-called) conquest of Germany,' a phrase perhaps in the mouths of the Roman war party (see Introd. p. 6): cp. § 6 ('triumphati magis quam victi').

2. **multa in vicem damna**, sc. 'fuere': 'in vicem' has the force of an attributive adjective ('mutua'): cp. 'magnis in vicem usibus' (Agr. 24, 1), 'multae in vicem clades' (H. 1. 65, 1).

3. **Samnis**, &c. In such enumerations Tacitus varies the wording, as here by change from sing. to pl. and from peoples to countries and back again.

4. **admonuere**, 'have given as a warning' (by disaster); cp. 'actos dolor admonet annos' (Tibull. 4. 1, 189).

regno Arsacis, 'the Arsacid despotism.' The kingdom and empire of the Parthians was founded by Arsaces, cir. B.C. 250, and the name was borne as a title (like that of 'Caesar') by his descendants till their fall before the Sassanians in A.D. 226.

5. **acrior**, 'more energetic': cp. 'acri . . . . libertate' (A. 13. 50, 3); 'vigor animi . . . . acrior' (A. 3. 30, 5).

libertas. Even kingly governments in Germany were not such 'regna' as those in the East: cp. c. 7, 1, &c.

6. **Crassi.** His destruction and that of his army took place at Charrae in Mesopotamia in B.C. 53.

amisso et ipse Pacoro, 'and that too counterbalanced by the loss of Pacorus': 'ipse' is used of 'Oriens' as if the Parthian monarch had himself been spoken of, and as if 'amisso Pacoro' had been an active past part. in nominative, with an accus. (καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολέσας Πάκορον). Pacorus, son of the Parthian king Orodes, was defeated and slain by Ventidius in Syria, B.C. 38.

infra Ventidium deiectus, 'cast down beneath the feet of a Ventidius.' The antecedents of their victor are conceived as adding bitterness to their ultimate defeat. P. Ventidius Bassus, a Picenian, and in early life led in triumph in the Social war, and said to have been a muleteer, had been advanced by Caesar and became consul in the triumvirate, and gained a triumph in B.C. 38 for driving the Parthians out of Syria and Asia Minor, which they had occupied as conquerors for nearly two years.

7. **obiecerit**, 'with what else could the East taunt us.'

Carbone et Cassio. Cn. Papirius Carbo was defeated by the Cimbri in Illyricum in B.C. 113 (Liv. Epit. 63). Their next victory was that over M. Junius Silanus, the consul of B.C. 109, in Gaul (Liv. Epit. 65). This Tacitus, apparently by error, omits, and substitutes for it the defeat of L. Cassius Longinus, the consul of B.C. 107, which took place in Gaul, but was at the hands of the Helvetian Tigurini (Liv. l.l.), who may have been in alliance with the Cimbri, as were also the Ambrones.

8. **Scauro Aurelio.** M. Aurelius

Mallio fusis vel captis quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt: mox ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium
6 versae. inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias

2. populi Romani B b[1] C c, text b[2]. legiones cum eo C. Augusto ins. Ritt. Mr. 5. Gai . . . discordiae om. C.

Scaurus, consular legate of Mallius (see below), was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death in Gaul, in B.C. 105 (Liv. Epit. 67).

Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio. The latter name is corrected from inscriptions (Or. 3697, &c.), and from Plutarch (Mar. 19). Cn. Mallius Maximus, consul of the year, and Q. Servilius Caepio, consul of the preceding year and then proconsul, were successively defeated at Arausio (Orange) on the Rhone in B.C. 105. The Romans are said to have lost 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp-followers, and to have sustained a greater material and moral defeat than even that of Cannae.

1. **quinque.** To make up this number, the legatus Scaurus (see above) is treated as an independent general.

simul, 'at the same period,' in one war.

2. **populo Romano,** from the Republic, in contrast to 'Caesari.'

Varum. On his defeat by the Cheruscans and Arminius in A.D. 9, see A. 1. 61, Vell. 2, 117–120, &c.

Caesari. There was no need to specify the Caesar under whom this happened. The dictator is thus called simply 'Caesar' in H. 3. 66, 5.

3. **impune,** 'without loss.'

in Italia, on the Raudian plain, near Vercellae, in B.C. 101. The name of his colleague Catulus is not given, nor is any mention made of the defeat of the Teutons, who took part in the same movement, at Aquae Sextiae in Gaul, B.C. 102.

in Gallia, alluding to his defeat of the German king Ariovistus in B.C. 58 (1. 30–54), and his expulsion of the Usipetes and Tencteri in B.C. 55 (4. 1–15): his expeditions across the Rhine (4. 16–19; 6. 9 foll.) are omitted, and were really unimportant.

4. **Drusus,** the brother of Tiberius, B.C. 12–9. In these campaigns he subdued a considerable territory and reached the Elbe.

Nero; so Tiberius Caesar is named before his adoption. The nine campaigns which he claims to have conducted in Germany (see A. 2. 26, 3, and note) fall between B.C. 9 and A.D. 11.

Germanicus, the son of Drusus and adopted son of Tiberius: his campaigns in A.D. 14–16 are fully related in Ann. 1 and 2. His successes were indecisive, and involved much Roman loss ('nec impune').

5. **mox** (cp. c. 2, 2) **ingentes,** &c. Tacitus speaks similarly of the 'Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium' (H. 4. 15, 3): cp. also Agr. 13, 4. Suet. speaks (Cal. 45) of a sham fight in which the emperor's own German guard represented the enemy, and of Gauls dressed up to represent German prisoners. We have no means of testing the truth of these stories (see Introd. to Ann. ii. p. 17).

6. **otium,** sc. fuit. He does not care to mention Corbulo's doings (A. 11. 18–20) and other slight interventions (A. 12. 29; 13. 53–57).

donec, &c. The rising headed by the Batavian Julius Civilis, A.D. 69–70, is meant. He assumed at first the character of a partizan of Vespasian, and then threw off the mask. The winter camp of the legions taken by him was that of Castra Vetera near Xanten on the lower Rhine. The organizers of a revolt of some important Gallic tribes made common cause with him. The whole is related in Hist. 4 and 5.

adfectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

38. Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur. insigne gentis 2
obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris

1. pulsi inde proximis B^1, inde pulsi in proximis b, pulsi nam proximis B^2 c, ac et expulsi rursus inde proximis C, text Halm, &c. 3. sueuis all, see on c. 2, 4. 6. quam b^1, quamuis b^2.

1. **adfectavere**, 'laid claim to,' cf. 'adfectatum imperium' (Agr. 7, 2), &c.

inde pulsi; so most recent edd. (see various readings).

proximis temporibus, 'in recent times,' under Domitian, whose expedition against the Chatti in A. D. 83 is elsewhere thus spoken of contemptuously (Agr. 39, 2; Dio, 67. 4, 1; Plin. Pan. 16) and apparently underrated: see note on c. 29, 4.

triumphati. The use of this passive originates from Augustan poets (Verg. Aen. 6. 837; Hor. Od. 3. 3, 43, &c.).

3. **Suebis**. The name is read by edd. in this form, against the MSS. of this treatise (see crit. note on c. 2, 4), as attested for Tacitus by Med. I. (in A. 1. 44, 6) and Med. II (H. 1. 2, 3, &c.), and otherwise best supported. Tacitus had given the name as generic in c. 2, 4; and here takes it very widely and probably inaccurately as including all those mentioned from this point (cp. c. 46, 1). Caesar speaks of them (4. 1, 3) as the greatest German people, consisting of 100 pagi, each of which sent out 1000 warriors yearly with a similar reserve at home. These may be the Semnones of Tacitus (cp. c. 39, 4), but appear geographically to answer to the Chatti (cp. 6. 10, 5); while the Suebic subjects of Ariovistus appear to have dwelt between the upper Rhine and Danube. Strabo (7. 1, 3, 290) makes them spread from the Rhine to the Elbe, and further. With Pliny (see on c. 2, 3) the Suebi (perhaps Semnones) are grouped with Chatti and others under the Herminones. Also a Suebic offshoot was planted by Augustus in Flanders near the mouth of the Scheldt (see Agr. 28, 4, and note). The probable explanation of this great vagueness is that the name, meaning 'wanderers' (connected with 'schweben'), was a general appellation for all Germans who led an unsettled, nearly nomad life (see Momms. Hist. E. T. iv. 232), as many or perhaps most still did in Caesar's time (see on c. 26, 2), and that it did not really denote any distinct stock. Further confusion would arise from some being known by the generic, others by a specific name.

4. **maiorem . . . partem**, all beyond the Elbe and down to the Danube.

5. **adhuc**, probably best taken as 'further,' 'besides' (cp. c. 10, 3). To give it the meaning 'to this day' would imply that specific names gradually gave way to generic; the reverse being the more probable change.

6. **in commune**: cp. c. 27, 3, &c.

insigne, 'a characteristic': cp. c. 44, 1, &c. Other general characteristics are their more restless, predatory habits, and a general prevalence of monarchy, also probably some linguistic distinction, answering to that between High and Low German.

7. **obliquare**, 'to comb back on each side, and gather in a knot below,' apparently to gather the back hair into a 'queue.' Seneca (de Ira, 3. 26, 3), makes the 'crinis rufus et in nodum coactus' a characteristic of Germans generally, and Juvenal speaks similarly (13, 165), and the application of the epithets 'flavus' (Lucan 2, 50) and 'crinitus' (Claud. Cons. iv. Hon. 465) to 'Suebi' hardly proves anything. It is possible that the custom is not so distinctive as Tacitus makes it.

Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur; in aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepe
3 accidit, imitatione rarum et intra iuventae spatium: apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retorquent, ac saepe in ipso vertice religant; principes et ornatiorem habent.
4 ea cura formae, sed innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella comptius hostium oculis ornantur.

4. retro sequuntur (secuntur, sequentem) all, retorquent Madvig, retrosum agunt Haupt, recurvant Lachmann, retorquere suetum Prammer. 5. in ipso b^1 B^2 M S, in solo B^1 b^2, in ipso solo C c H. religatur B b, ligant C c S^1, text H M S^2. 6. innoxie MSS, text Muret. 7. compti ut B b C, compti et c, [ut] Halm, text Lachmann. 8. armantur B^1 b^2.

1. **servis**: German slaves generally had close cropped hair.

3. **rarum**, sc. 'est,' 'the practice ('obliquare crinem nodoque substringere') exists, but is rare, and confined to youth.' What was really characteristic of the Suebi was its universality, among all free men and at every time of life. Some stop differently, so as to take 'rarum' as in apposition with 'retorquent.' The causal ablatives 'cognatione' and 'imitatione' give reasons not for the practice being rare, but for its existence elsewhere at all.

4. **horrentem**, 'unkempt.'

retorquent; Halm, Mr., and Z. thus follow Madvig. Some such meaning is required, and it hardly seems possible to extract it, even under a figure of rhetoric, from 'retro sequuntur,' which is no true equivalent to the 'capillos ... retro agere' of Quint. 11. 3, 160.

ac saepe, &c. The text (see crit. note) has been very variously treated. It seems best (with Halm, Mr., Pramm., Z.) to treat 'solo' as a gloss on 'ipso.' Those who retain both words generally take 'solo' with the force of 'solum,' to which others would alter it. For other readings and interpretations see SS^2. Some also read, with the best MSS., 'religatur.' It is in any case plain that Tacitus means here to describe a different and exceptional mode, that of those who, instead of knotting the hair at the back of the neck (cp. 'nodo substringere'), gather it up on the top of the head. The Marcomani and Quadi represented on the Antonine column show neither mode, but have wild and unkempt hair; but figures with the hair gathered into such a knot on the crown as is here described are found on the column of Trajan, and are taken by Fabretti (Syntagma, p. 16) to be possibly Suebic auxiliaries.

5. **principes**, &c., 'their chief men (kings and nobles) wear their hair yet more ornately,' adding artificial height to the structure. Such a custom is found among the princes of the Franks, Goths, and Vandals. Cp. the description in Sid. Apoll. of Theodoric: 'capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planitie frontis in verticem caesaries refuga crispatur.' The following words refer to these only; the simple knot of ordinary men, as seen in the figures above referred to, being too small for any imposing effect.

6. **ea cura formae**, 'in this point they care for their personal appearance.'

innoxia, explained by the following words.

7. **in altitudinem**, &c.: the asyndeton is adversative, and the prep. expresses result, as in c. 24, 2, &c. 'Et terrorem' is explanatory ('to add to the height and strike terror').

comptius. This emendation seems much better than bracketing 'ut.' They wear more adornment for the eyes of their enemies, not (as Romans) for those of the lover or mistress. Cicero (Cat. 2. 10, 22) describes such young Romans, 'pexo capillo nitidos,' and their mode of life.

39. Vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones
memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. stato tem- **2**
pore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram
omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coëunt caesoque
publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.
est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingre- **3**
ditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. si
forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per
humum evolvuntur. eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tam- **4**
quam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera

1. vetustissimos se B b C, vet . . . seu nobilissimos H M, text c S. **Semones** B C c^1 b^2, senones b^1, sennones B^2, text c^2 H; in § 4, text C c H M. 3. **patrium** B b^1 C, text b^2. sacrum B b^1 C c^1, sacram b^2 c^2. 8. est om. C.

1. **Semnones** (with long penult. in Strabo, short in Ptol. and Dio.). These are mentioned as Suebic in A. 2. 45, 1: they are not known to Caesar, unless they are his 'Suebi' (see on c. 38, 1), but known as a *μέγα ἔθνος* of the Suebi to Strabo (7. 1, 3, 290), and were among those who made overtures to Augustus (Mon. Anc. v. 16: see on c. 37, 1). Another of their kings paid court to Domitian (Dio, 67. 5, 3), and they are last heard of under this name in the Marcomanic war (id. 71. 20, 2). Ptol. places them on a *Σούηβος ποταμός* (perhaps the Oder), and their district at this time seems to be between the middle Elbe and Oder in parts of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Silesia.

2. **memorant**: with this text (Halm, SS^2., Mr.) the subject is general, referring to authorities as such (cp. c. 3, 1; 43, 4): other edd. follow the well-supported reading 'vetustissimos se.'

fides, 'credibility': cp. c. 37, 1.

religione, 'a religious institution.' The fact that this worship was held in their territory confirms the tradition of their antiquity.

stato tempore, 'at a fixed time,' thought by Grimm to be about the autumnal equinox.

3. **silvam.** On such sacred groves, cp. c. 9, 3, and note.

auguriis, &c., 'hallowed by the dedicatory rites of ancestors and by ancient reverence.' The hexameter is more noteworthy than others found in Tacitus, and the diction makes it possible that it is a reminiscence of some poet, who was himself indebted to Verg. G. 4, 468; Aen. 7, 172; 8, 598.

4. **eiusdem sanguinis**, hardly all the Suebi, as Tacitus conceives them, but more than the Semnones themselves, probably all who were called Herminones (see below). Such common worships (cp. c. 40, 2; 43, 4; A. 1. 51, 2) were the only bond of union for the 'Stamm' (see Introd. p. 24).

legationibus, abl. of means.

caeso, aoristic, as also 'vectam' (c. 40, 3): 'publice' 'in common' (c. 15, 3).

5. **primordia**, 'initiatory rites': 'barbari' is explained by 'horrenda': for their human sacrifices, cp. c. 9, 1, and note.

6. **vinculo**, 'a cord' (similar in idea to the ring of c. 31, 3). An old name for this is 'simo,' whence Mf. thinks the name of this people may be derived.

7. **minor**, 'a subject,' of the god.

prae se ferens, 'outwardly acknowledging.'

8. **attolli**, in middle sense, as is also 'evolvuntur'; they must not get up, but roll themselves away: 'advolvi' is similarly used in A. 1. 13, 7.

9. **eo**, explained by 'tamquam,' &c.

omnis superstitio, 'this whole fanaticism.' Tacitus uses this term of all barbaric religions, in fact of all save Greek and Roman; so of Christianity (A. 15. 44, 4), Judaism (H. 2. 4, 5), Druidism (Agr. 11, 4).

respicit, tamquam: cp. c. 12, 2: 'sint' is supplied, as in c. 13, 3, &c.

10. **initia gentis**, apparently with reference to the legend given in c. 2, 3.

subiecta atque parentia. adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagi iis habitantur, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant.

40. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones

2. pagis habitantur all, habitant Ernesti, habitare dicuntur Hold., text Brotier. 3. Largobardos (longo- logo-) MSS. generally, text H^2 Beroald. nobilitas B b C S, text c H M. 6. ac B b, et C c. Veusdigni B b^1, Reusdigni b^2, Reudigi C, text c H M.

Mf. thinks that this idea specially connects this people with the later Juthungi, whose name he takes to mean 'offspring' (i.e. of the god).

regnator omnium deus. From the fact that the later Schwabians were entitled 'Ziuwari' (worshippers of Ziu or Tiu) Grimm infers that the deity here was not Wodan but Tiu; who would thus appear in this very primitive worship to have been conceived not as the mere war god (see on c. 9, 1), but (as the name itself suggests) as a more general deity, answering to Zeus or Dyaus. This would make it probable that we have here the general worship of the Herminones (c. 2, 3); that in c. 40. 2 being conjectured to belong to the Ingaevones.

1. **adicit auctoritatem,** 'gives them further consideration' (among the Suebi); i.e. makes them 'nobilissimi,' as their religion shows them to be 'vetustissimi' (§ 1).

2. **centum pagi iis habitantur**; so Halm, Mr., SS^2.: most others read 'pagis habitant.' It has been noted that Caesar states this fact of the Suebi as a whole (see on c. 38, 1). It has been thought that we have here, as elsewhere (c. 6, 5; 12, 3), some confused trace of the identity of the 'pagus' with the 'hundred,' as an aggregate of 'vici' (see Introd. p. 23).

magno corpore, 'by their great mass': cp. 'corpus .... Germaniae' (H. 4. 64, 2), 'populi corpus' (Liv. 1. 8, 1), &c.

3. **caput,** 'the leading nation.'

4. **Langobardos.** This name is generally taken to mean 'the long-beards,' but by some as 'the long axes.' They were attacked by Tiberius (Vell. 2. 106, 2), and probably driven across the Elbe by him, and were afterwards subject to but revolted from (A. 2. 45, 1) Maroboduus (c. 42, 2), and supported a Romanized king of the Cherusci (A. 11. 17, 5), part of whose territory they probably afterwards acquired. They appear at this time to have occupied a district on both sides of the Elbe, bordered west and south by the Chauci, Cherusci, and Semnones, and answering to parts of Mecklenburg and north-eastern Hanover, where the name Bardanwic (near Lüneberg) preserves a trace of them. The importance of the name in south Germany dates from the middle of the fifth century, and their kingdom in Italy lasted for two centuries from A.D. 568.

paucitas nobilitat, a contrast to the Semnones, whose 'magnum corpus' made them 'nobilissimi.' These owed their distinction to the fact that, though few, they had the spirit to hold their own among more numerous peoples. They afterwards became very numerous.

5. **proeliis et periclitando,** alliterative. Vell., who first mentions them, calls them 'gens Germana feritate ferocior.'

6. **Reudigni** (the form approved by Mf.), nowhere else mentioned, but thought to have lived near the mouth of the Elbe, in and round the district of Hamburg. Mf. takes the name to be from a root meaning σεμνός, and supposes them to have presided over the worship here mentioned.

deinde, 'next in site' (on north and east): cp. c. 42, 1, &c.

Aviones, apparently 'islanders,' whence they are supposed to have lived in the islands near the mouth of the Elbe and off Schleswig, mentioned by Pliny (see on c. 1, 1).

et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. nec quicquam notabile in 2
singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum; attingere uni

1. Suarines B b^1 C c, text b^2 H. nurtones b^1, nuitones b^2, vuithones H, text B C c S. 3. neithum B b^1, necthum M, text b^2 c H, nisi quod mamme nerthū S. 6. ea all, eo Rhen.

1. **Anglii,** 'dwellers in a corner or strip,' the 'Αγγειλοί of Ptol. 2, 11, 15, who places them on the middle Elbe. Their real position was probably in Schleswig, whence they invaded Britain in the fifth century.

Varini, perhaps wrongly given by Pliny (4. 14, 27, 99) as a division of the Vandili. They are generally placed also in Schleswig; though some think the name traceable in that of Warnemünde in Mecklenburg.

Eudoses, taken to have lived in Jutland; intermediate forms being traceable which would connect their name with that of the Jutes.

Suardones, thought by Mf. to have lived round Lauenberg.

Nuithones. Nothing can be made of this name or of the various readings. Some have thought that the real name was that of the otherwise ignored Teutons (see note on c. 37, 1), who appear to have lived in this locality. The Saxons, first mentioned by Ptol., afterwards take the place of several of these peoples.

2. **fluminibus . . . muniuntur.** He has evidently no definite knowledge of their position.

3. **nisi quod.** We should have expected 'in commune (c. 38, 1) autem.' All the seven are united by this probably Ingaevonic worship.

Nerthum; so most edd.: 'Herthum' and 'Hertham' have been conjectured, and Holzmann thinks the reading in S. points to a strange compound form 'mammun Ertham' (='terram matrem'), corrupted by others into 'in commune Nerthum' by misreading an abbreviation. Earth is conceived as the primaeval parent in c. 2, 3, and the name here (of doubtful meaning) has been thought to be a female form of that of the Northern god Niördhr, or possibly another name of Frigg (the earth viewed as wife of Wuodan in his capacity of heaven-god, Introd. p. 27, note 7), or of Freya, daughter of Niördhr; one or other of these goddesses being the German Aphrodite (cp. 'Friday' = 'dies Veneris'). The male god chiefly worshipped as a deity of fertility was Freyr or Frô, son of Niördhr, and thought to be the chief god of the Ingaevones (c. 2, 3), to whom this goddess also was probably a special object of reverence.

id est Terram matrem. The identification is merely that of Roman antiquaries, as in c. 9, 1; 43, 4; 45, 3, but is thought to be in the main right. The chariot procession and the ablution of the chariot and of the symbol of the goddess, as described below, have also a remarkable resemblance to the worship of the 'magna mater' (Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 373), in whom another form of earth goddess may be recognized (see c. 45, 3), as also another in Isis (c. 9, 2). See Introd. p. 28.

4. **intervenire,** so constructed with dat. in H. 4. 85, 4, as is also 'invehi' in Liv. 44. 2, 2, and 'invectus' in Liv. 1, 59, 10. Evidence of processions of this kind in honour of Freyr is given by Grimm, and similar customs are traced in Gaul. The festival was probably in spring.

5. **insula,** formerly thought to be Rügen, but now taken to be Alsen, off the east coast of Schleswig; the name of which, as well as those of a forest and lake in it, contain roots signifying 'holiness.'

castum, probably not only 'untouched by the axe' (cp. Ov. Am. 3, 1, 1; Luc. 3, 389) but generally free from human contact.

6. **dicatum,** dedicated and kept there.

3 sacerdoti concessum. is adesse penetrali deam intellegit
vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur.
laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque
4 dignatur. non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum
omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum
amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium
5 deam templo reddat. mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere
velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. servi ministrant,
quos statim idem lacus haurit. arcanus hinc terror sanctaque
ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

41. Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur: propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum,

10. id quod C. 11. uerborum MSS., sueuorum H^2, text Rhen.

veste, 'covering,' varied below to 'vestes.'

1. **sacerdoti**: apparently a male priest is meant. Conversely, the chariot of Freyr appears to have been driven by a virgin priestess. It is plain from § 5, that the slaves also touched the chariot during the ceremonies.

penetrali. Some take this of the chariot, others of the innermost recess of the forest, as also 'templo' below; but perhaps the latter word, as also the mention of 'Tamfanae templum' (A. 1. 51, 2), shows that the statement in c. 9, 3 requires some qualification.

2. **bubus feminis,** the usual expression for cows in sacred formulae. The use of cows or oxen instead of horses (c. 10, 4) on such occasions is a relic of great antiquity (cp. Hdt. 1. 31, 3; Verg. G. 3, 532), noted as surviving in the state processions of the Merovingian kings.

3. **adventu hospitioque,** 'by arriving at them and becoming their guest': cp. c. 2, 1.

5. **nota**; some read 'inmota' (A. 4. 32, 3; 15. 27, 3; 46, 2), which makes 'amata' more emphatic. Heräus omits the second 'tantum,' and thus weakens the rhetorical force. Lachmann and Haupt reverse the order, reading 'amata' . . . 'nota.'

6. **conversatione,** 'intercourse': cp. 'intervenire rebus hominum.'

8. **numen ipsum,** i. e. something alleged to be the deity itself; probably not an image, but some symbol or fetish. Tacitus would imply that this superstition sank below the general belief (cp. c. 9, 3).

secreto lacu 'in a secluded lake.'

abluitur, as if to purify her from human contact. The ablution of statues had place in Roman ritual: cp. A. 15, 44, 1, and note.

9. **quos . . . lacus haurit.** This may not only have been to ensure secrecy (see Iornandes on the burial of Alaric, cited in Orelli), but part of the ceremony itself.

arcanus, &c., 'hence a mysterious fear and pious ignorance.' The noun 'ignorantia' takes the construction of a verb.

10. **illud**; i. e. the interior of the chariot, and the symbol.

11. **Et haec,** &c. He passes to those Suebic tribes which were better known to the Romans.

secretiora Germaniae. This substantival use of a neuter adject. with genit. is rare before Livy. With Tacitus it has not always a partitive force.

12. **quo modo . . . sic,** for 'ut . . . sic'; often so used by Tacitus, also by Cic.: here 'ut,' in another sense, has immediately preceded.

Rhenum. He had traced back from it in c. 32, 1, &c.

sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma **2** modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. in Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

42. Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et

1. Danubium b c, text B C H, so in c. 42, 1. 8. narisci b^2 H M, maristi C, text B b^1 c, Varisti Mf. Marcomanni b^1 (and elsewhere), text B b^2 H.

1. **Hermundurorum.** The latter part of the name denotes boldness, the former part may have an intensive force or may imply descent from Irmin. Their frontier towards Rome was not (at least in later times) the river, but the Raetian part of the 'limes' (see on c. 29, 4), and their territory appears mainly to coincide with parts of Franconia and north-eastern Bavaria, extending further to the middle Elbe. They are known to Vell. (2. 106, 2), and Strab. (7. 1, 3, 290) as on the Elbe or beyond it, but were settled in what had been the Marcomanic territory by Domitius about B.C. 2 (Dio, 55.10, a, 2), whence their friendship for Rome: see also A. 2, 63, 6; 12. 29, 2; 13. 57, 1. The name is not known after the Marcomanic war, but they may be represented by the later Thuringians.

2. **non in ripa,** not merely on the Danube bank, in contrast to 'penitus,' 'far within the frontier.'

3. **in splendidissima . . . colonia.** It is plain that Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) is meant, a town founded by Augustus, but not otherwise known as a colony, and called 'municipium' in an inscription (Marqu. Staatsv. i. 289, who thinks Tacitus may only mean to call it a Roman town). Its wealth and importance are attested by sculptures, inscriptions, &c. (Friedl. iii. 167).

4. **passim sine custode,** 'everywhere (instead of at stated points only) and without a guard set over them.' This privilege may be understood from the complaint of the Tencteri to the Agrippinenses (H. 4. 64, 2) that they had to deal 'inermes ac prope nudi, sub custode et pretio,' disarmed, almost stripped, under surveillance, and under payment of custom dues. See Momms. Staatsr. iii. 600.

cum, 'whereas': cp. c. 36, 3.

6. **non concupiscentibus.** The word seems too strong to mean only 'not desiring to see them,' and would rather mean 'not hankering after them' in the way of plunder, as Germans generally would.

Albis. This name appears to be German, from a root similar to that in 'Albunea,' &c., signifying 'the white (or bright) stream.' It rises in Bohemia, which is certainly not within the territory of the Hermunduri (see c. 42, 1). The most probable supposition is that a branch, as the Thuringian Saale, has been here confounded with the Elbe itself.

7. **notum,** known by exploration. Tacitus refers to the expedition of Drusus in B. C. 9, and that of Tiberius in A. D. 4, 5 (see on c. 1, 1; 34, 1), and to the crossing of the upper Elbe by L. Domitius (see A. 4. 44, 3). It had been the plan of Augustus to make it the frontier, but this was frustrated by the destruction of Varus.

auditur, 'known by hearsay': cp. 'arma . . . audita' (c. 37, 2). Tacitus speaks regretfully, but he certainly was not in favour of a forward policy in Germany (see Introd. p. 6).

8. **Naristi,** so Halm and Pramm., with support from Dio, 71. 21; others follow Mf. in reading 'Varisti,' which he supports from Ptol. 2. 11, 23 and as having an etymological meaning ('most warlike'). They are taken to have been a branch of the Marcomani left in the Baireuth district of Bavaria and the Fichtelgebirge.

Marcomani, so (with 'ă') in Stat.

Quadi agunt. praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque
ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. nec Naristi
Quadive degenerant. eaque Germaniae velut frons est, qua-
2 tenus Danuvio praecingitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque
ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum,
nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus (iam et externos patiuntur),
sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. raro
armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

2. etiam ipsa b. bois B C c H. parata B b, text C c H S and edd. generally. 4. peragitur all, text Tagmann. 5. mansere B. 6. Marabodui B, Marbodui c.

Silv. 3. 3, 170, and in Caes. 1. 51, 2; but in Vell. 2. 108, 1 and others 'Marcomanni.' The name is originally merely an appellative, meaning 'dwellers on the Mark' (or borderland), and may be thus indefinitely used when Caesar (l. l.) speaks of them as with Ariovistus (see Momms. Hist. iv. E. T. 232). Mf. somewhat dissents from this view, and considers them to have moved from the middle Elbe to the upper Main, whence they were transferred by Maroboduus (Vell. l. l.) to Bohemia (see on c. 28, 2), where he made them the nucleus of his great kingdom (see § 2). In later times they and the Quadi are chiefly known from their great wars with M. Aurelius in A. D. 167 and for several years afterwards: see Momms. v. E. T. i. 229, foll. They are known to the end of the fourth century.

1. **Quadi.** These lived south-east of the Marcomani, and are generally associated with them. Their territory was on the Marus (March) and corresponded to parts of Moravia and western Hungary.

praecipua, predicate, as is also 'virtute parta.'

2. **pulsis**, &c. not strictly correct, as the Boii appear to have been driven out before the immigration of the Marcomani: see Mommsen, Hist. E. T. iii. 174; iv. 232.

3. **velut frons**, i. e. these are as it were the front presented by Germany. Those on the Danube were more strictly 'a fronte' to the Romans than those on the Rhine.

4. **praecingitur,** 'it is girdled'; so most recent edd. Some retain 'peragitur,' giving it the force of 'perficitur' ('so far as the frontier is formed').

6. **Marobodui.** In the later years of Augustus this prince founded in Bohemia, and the surrounding parts, the nearest approach to a general monarchy which Germany had seen, supported by a force of 70,000 foot and 4,000 horse. An attack on him led by Tiberius, intended in A. D. 6, was frustrated by the rebellion of Illyricum, and his power lasted till A. D. 18, when he fell before a coalition of Germans, and fled to Tiberius, and lived till A. D. 36 in custody at Ravenna. His great power is described in Vell. 2. 108, and by Tiberius as quoted in A. 2. 62, 3. Mf. derives his name from 'Marahpato' (Ἱππόμαχος).

Tudri. This king (apparently of the Quadi) is nowhere else mentioned.

iam et: cp. c. 15, 3.

externos, opposed to 'ex gente ipsorum'; from other German peoples. A Quadian named Vannius had been set up by the Romans on the fall of Maroboduus (A. 2. 63, 7; 12. 29, 1), but would not here be meant, as Tacitus is speaking of his own times only, perhaps of an intervention by Domitian, who had some hostilities with the Marcomani (Stat. l.l.). A race of kings among this people is mentioned as late as the fourth century.

7. **vis et potentia,** 'material force and ascendency' (nearly synonyms).

ex auctoritate Romana, is derived from Roman support.

8. **pecunia,** cp. c. 15, 3.

nec minus, &c., not less than if helped by arms.

43. Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum
Quadorumque claudunt. e quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone
cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica
lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur.
partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis **2**
imponunt: Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt.
omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et
vertices montium iugumque insederunt. dirimit enim scin- **3**
ditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod
plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum

1. gotini, gotinos (l. 3) all, but Cotini C c in l. 6. Burii C c. 10. legiorum B^1 b^1 c, ly- B^2, li- b^2, Leugiorum C (see c. 44, 1), text Mf.

1. **Retro**, i.e. to the east and north-east. The forest and mountain tract which all these tribes are stated to have occupied is that between Bohemia and Silesia (the Riesengebirge), and the watershed between the Oder and some northern tributaries of the Danube, as the Waag and Gran.

Marsigni. The first part of the name is that of the Marsi (see c. 2, 4, and note). The termination (cp. Reudigni, c. 40, 1) may denote some kind of eminence in that stock.

Cotini, so read by all recent edd., with Dio, 71. 12, 3; the MSS. text 'Gotini' being apparently a confusion of this Celtic tribe with the Goths (c. 44, 1). Caesar mentions (6. 24, 2) a Gallic tribe (Volcae Tectosages) on the border of the Hercynian forest, but there is no evidence connecting them with this people.

Osi; on these cp. c. 28, 3. Tacitus here speaks of their language as Pannonian, which shows them to be an Illyrian race, specially related (see l. l.) to the Aravisci. The Illyrian language, known only through the Albanian (cp. c. 1, 1), is considered to have affinities to Greek and Iranian (see Taylor, Origin of Aryans, p. 268).

Buri, mentioned again in the time of Trajan and M. Aurelius (Dio, 68. 8, 1, 71. 18). Ptol. (2. 11, 20) calls them a branch of the Lugians (see below), and places them at the source of the Vistula.

terga . . . claudunt, in a military sense, regarding these peoples as confronting the Roman empire.

3. **cultu,** 'mode of life,' as in c. 46, 1.

Suebos. More properly they seem to belong to the Vandilii of c. 2, 4.

referunt: cp. c. 20, 3.

4. **et quod . . . patiuntur,** 'and the fact that they submit to,' co-ordinated with 'lingua' as the subject of 'arguit.'

5. **partem**; i.e. the one (probably the Osi) were tributary to the Sarmatae (the Iazyges noted on c. 1, 1), the other, probably the Cotini, to the Quadi.

6. **quo magis pudeat,** i.e. because they have the material ready to hand which should make arms to win their freedom, and which was scarce in Germany (c. 6, 1). Iron mines in the part of the Hercynian mountains near the Quadi (i.e. near Crakow) were known to Ptol. (2. 11, 26).

7. **ceterum,** 'but especially': cp. A. 12. 59, 2.

8. **montium iugumque**: some omit or bracket the latter word, others both, as a repetition from the line below, or as glosses. If both are retained, 'iugum' may be explained by the following 'continuum iugum' (on which see on § 1), as the ridge, distinguished from certain summits.

9. **ultra quod.** The locality of these tribes would be in Silesia and Poland, between the Oder and Vistula.

10. **agunt**: cp. c. 29, 3.

Lugiorum: this reading is defended from Strab. and Ptol. (Λούγιοι). Dio

nomen in plures civitates diffusum. valentissimas nominasse
sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanar-
4 valos. apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur.
praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione
Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numini,
5 nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae supersti-
tionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur.
6 ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante
populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore

2. Heluetonas B[1], eluheconas C. Helysios B[1] C c. naharualos B[2] b in first place, B b in second. 5. memorat B b. 6. aleis b. 8. alii B b C c here. 9. trucis all, text Beroald.

(67. 5, 2) has Λύγιοι (whence some here read 'Lygiorum'), and the Med. MS. of Tacitus in A. 12. 29, 3, 'ligii,' which is perhaps intended by MSS. here. The name has been suggested to mean 'dwellers in woodland' (or marshland), but is quite uncertain. Of the separate names given here little or nothing is known. The Helvecones should perhaps be 'Helvaeones,' the Αἰλουαίωνες of Ptol. (2. 11, 7), who joins them with the Βούργουντες ('Burgodiones' of Plin.), i. e. the Burgundians, of whom Tacitus knows nothing, but who, with the Vandals, appear to be the later representatives of these Lugian tribes. Some, however, as Latham, consider the Lugians to be Slavs, and ancestors of the Poles.

3. **antiquae religionis**, 'of an ancient worship'; 'religioni' is supplied with 'praesidet.' The worship was probably common to all these Lugian tribes, and the deities were probably conceived as ancestors of the race (as in c. 40, 2).

4. **muliebri ornatu.** Mf. considers that this is to be understood of the hair only, and that the priest was one of the 'Hazdinge' ('men with women's hair'), known later as the Vandal royal race.

sed. The point of contrast seems to be that the gods are male.

5. **Castorem Pollucemque.** This Roman interpretation appears to be quite correct, the worship of the Dioscuri being in some form a very general cult, appearing also in the Scandinavian mythology under the names of Baldr and Vali, and in the Alemannic under those of Baltram and Sintram, and elsewhere of other hero brothers, and traceable also among Slavs, Celts, and Indians. The worship is noted as suitable to a race of horsemen, such as were the later Vandals.

memorant: cp. c. 3, 1; 39, 1.

vis, 'the attributes,' 'numini,' 'their divinity.'

6. **Alcis.** None of the pairs of hero brothers mentioned above bear any such name, and its form and meaning are much disputed. It has been generally taken as dat. (cp. 'maioribus minoribusque' c. 34, 1), from a form 'Alcae' or 'Alci,' but the nominative is certainly the usual case in Tacitus for substantives in such expressions (see Nipp. on A. 2. 16, 1), which would suggest such a form as 'Alceis,' or that 'Alces' or 'Alci' should be read. Some would connect the word with ἀργός ('bright'), others with ἄλκη. Holzmann thinks it traceable in names like 'Alcuin.'

peregrinae, 'non German' (c. 9, 2), such a foreign element as would be shown by images, &c.

7. **ut fratres . . . ut iuvenes**, i. e. though there are no images, all the ideas of the worship are personal.

9. **truces**, taken with 'super vires': fierce as they are (i. e. having an 'insita feritas'), besides having a strength superior to other Lugians.

arte ac tempore, referring to the black shields, &c., and the night march.

lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

44. Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

6. Lygios B C c ligios b. Gothones all, text Med. 1 in A. 2. 62. regnant most MSS. text c and two others. 8. Lemonii b[1] H M S, text B C c.

1. **lenocinantur,** 'add to the effect of'; so in Dial. 6, 5 ('lenocinatur voluptati'), and in Plin. mi. and Quint.

nigra, sc. 'sunt.'

tincta, 'painted.'

atras . . . legunt: cp. 'electa nox atra' (H. 5. 22, 1).

2. **ipsa formidine atque umbra,** 'by the mere (cp. c. 13, 4) terrific and shadowy appearance' (apart from their fighting qualities).

feralis exercitus terrorem, 'the dread of an army of spectres.' This is clearly the meaning conveyed by 'infernum' below, and it seems best so to take it here; but Wölfflin considers that a new and distinctly stronger figure is introduced by 'velut,' and that 'feralis exercitus' should mean 'an army like a funeral procession': cp. 'feralem introitum' (H. 1. 37, 5). The other meaning seems, however, to be supported by 'feralibus . . . tenebris' ('the darkness of death') in A. 2. 31, 2. The meaning 'deadly' or 'deathbringing' (as in 'bellum . . . ferale' H. 5. 25, 5) does not seem to suit the imagery here.

3. **nullo hostium,** the frequent Tacitean and poetical quasi-partitive genitive, without any partitive idea. Cic. would have said 'nullo hoste.'

4. **velut infernum,** 'as it were hellish.' The expression at least is stronger than 'feralis,' if the meaning conveyed is the same.

6. **Gotones,** the Gothi of later history. They are mentioned by Pliny (9. 14, 28, 99) as a branch of the Vandili, and appear to have been among the subjects of Maroboduus (A. 2. 62, 2). Various authorities appear to agree in making them live at this time on the right bank of the lower Vistula, extending to the Pregel, probably the river Guthalus of Pliny. At the beginning of the third century they were on the Black Sea.

regnantur (cp. c. 25, 3): the following words show that this reading is right. Here the expression is concise (they live beyond the Lugii, and are ruled by kings).

iam, probably best taken in a temporal sense (cp. 'nondum'), implying that the power of their kings was getting on: but cp. 'nullis iam' (§ 3), and c. 45, 2; 46, 6.

adductius, 'more strictly' (a metaphor from a tightened rein): cp. 'adductius . . . imperitabat' (H. 3. 7, 2), &c.

7. **supra libertatem,** 'so as to overpower freedom,' as in Oriental despotisms.

8. **protinus ab,** 'immediately bordering on' (in contrast to 'ipso in Oceano' below). These people probably lived in Pomerania, between the Oder and Vistula. The name of the former is preserved further west in the island of Rügen, and they were among the later enemies of Rome. The Lemovii are unknown, and their name has been taken to mean 'a branch,' and to be perhaps a collective name.

9. **insigne**: cp. c. 38, 2.

rotunda: on the shapes of German shields, see on c. 6, 2.

10. **et . . . obsequium.** The conjunc-

2 Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, praetei viros armaque classibus valent. forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit. nec velis ministrant nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt: solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res
3 poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non
4 precario iure parendi. nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos,

1. ipse B, ipsae b, text C c. oceanum B b[1]. 4. ministrantur all, text Lips. 7. nec C c, non B b.

tion after asyndeta here introduces a characteristic of a different kind and greater importance.

1. **Suionum.** This name, connected through intermediate forms with that of 'Swede,' is here a general name for all the Germanic peoples of Scandinavia. They are viewed as consisting of many subdivisions ('civitates'), but as Germans (cp. 'ceteros Germanos' § 4) and Suebian (c. 46, 1).

hinc, looking from the coast of the Rugii and Lemovii.

ipso in Oceano, in the midst of it, as islands: some prefer the reading 'ipsae' (i.e. by themselves). Pliny speaks (4. 13, 27, 96) of 'Scatinavia' as a great island of unknown size, and Ptol. (2. 11, 34) of the Σκανδίαι as one large and three small islands, and a similar opinion was prevalent for some time later.

praeter: cp. c. 2, 2.

3. **utrimque**, attributive with 'prora' (cp. c. 8, 1, &c.): 'their double prow presents a front,' &c. Such vessels were employed by Germanicus (A. 2. 6, 2), and were in use among other nations (cp. H. 3. 47, 5; Plin. 6. 22, 24, 82), and such still survive in coast districts of Sweden. A large boat of this form, belonging to the iron age, and found in a peat bog in Jutland, is figured and described in Green, Illustrated Hist. of Eng. i. 11.

adpulsui, 'for putting to land'; so 'adpellere' in A. and H. l. l.

4. **ministrant.** Most recent edd. adopt this reading as a probable reminiscence of Vergil, Aen. 6, 307; 10, 218, where the question is still left open (see Conington's note) whether 'velis' is dat. of the thing served, or abl. instrum. (as it would clearly be here with the MSS. text 'ministrantur'). Cp. the combination of both in H. 1. 48, 5 ('Vinio fictilibus ministrari iubet').

in ordinem, 'so as to form a regular row.'

5. **solutum**, 'the oars are loose,' so as to be shifted easily, not secured to the boat.

quibusdam fluminum = 'quibusdam fluminibus' (cp. c. 43, 2, 6).

ut res poscit: cp. c. 35, 4, &c.

6. **est . . . et opibus honos**, 'these people pay respect even to wealth,' in contrast to what is said of Germans generally (c. 5, 2–4).

7. **eoque unus imperitat**, i.e. because he is preeminently rich. The king's power seems really to have rested on a religious ground (see note below), and his wealth was probably rather effect than cause.

nullis iam exceptionibus, 'here with no reservations,' such as are noted in c. 7, 1–2; 11, 5; and even in c. 44. 1.

non precario, &c., 'with a claim to obedience not merely on sufferance'; so 'precarium . . . imperium' (H. 1. 52, 6), and the adv. in Agr. 16, 5. 'Iure parendi' appears to have a strained meaning ('the right to be obeyed'), and Passow would read 'imperandi.' SS. gives the view of a Swedish historian, that the Scandinavian royal power was not really unlimited, but might seem so to an outsider, being enhanced by the idea of divine descent, and by a hereditary priesthood. The accounts of this distant people are

in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

45. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope inmotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque

1. neque C, in B b c. 2. ociosa B b, occiosa C, otiosa c, text Coler. 6. Suiones b. 7. claudique C c H M S. 8. ortus C c. 9. emergentis om. C.

probably exaggerated by the tales of traders.

1. **in promiscuo,** 'in every man's hands'; so used of what is universal ('in promiscuo licentiam') in Liv. 29. 17, 14. On the German habit in this respect, cp. c. 13, 1, &c.

et quidem servo, parenthetical, not explained till 'enimvero,' &c.

quia, &c. The first cause shows why they need not be armed at all times, the second, why it is not thought desirable that they should be.

2. **porro;** cp. c. 2, 2: 'manus' probably 'hands,' personified.

3. **enimvero,** 'and indeed,' adding a new and important point in the precaution taken.

5. **regia utilitas est,** 'it is a royal policy'; concisely and somewhat harshly used for 'regibus utilitati est'; Madvig would read 'subtilitas.' After this sentence Schütz (who is followed by Z.) inserts the sentence from c. 45, 9 ('Suionibus . . . degenerant'): see note there.

6. **aliud,** i. e. different from the Oceanus of c. 44, 2, which is itself the 'exterior Oceanus' of c. 17, 2.

pigrum ac prope inmotum. A similar description is given in Agr. 10, 6 of the sea between Britain and Thule (Shetland). These accounts rest ultimately on Pytheas of Massilia (cir. B.C. 330), as cited in Strabo (2. 4, 1, 104, &c.). This sea is likened to a kind of molluscous substance (πλεύμων θαλάττιος), and described elsewhere (1. 4, 2, 63) as semi-solid (πεπηγυῖα), the 'mare concretum' of Pl. 4. 16, 30, 104; 37. 2, 11, 35, which is apparently distinct from the 'mare congelatum' or 'mortuum,' called 'Morimarusa' by the Cimbri (id. 4. 14, 27, 94). Tacitus appears here to identify them, and is probably speaking from vague information about the Arctic Ocean; but of the account in the Agricola, and those from which it is derived, a more local explanation has been sought in a belt of calm and fog (see Z. here), which may have been supposed to extend further and otherwise exaggerated.

7. **hinc fides,** 'it is believed on this ground.'

quod extremus, &c., 'that the twilight of sunset lasts to dawn': the verb 'eduro' is noted as extremely rare. A similar account respecting north Britain is given in Agr. 12, 3, and in both passages Tacitus seems unaware of the corresponding perpetual night of winter, which is the more remarkable in the face of the superior correctness of the account given by Caesar (5. 13, 3), also (from Hipparchus) by Strabo (2, 1, 18, 75), and (from Pytheas and others) by Pliny (2. 75, 77, 186). The passage in the Agricola seems to show ignorance of the spherical form of the earth.

9. **hebetet,** 'dims'; so 'dies hebetarat sidera' (Ov. M. 5, 444).

emergentis, 'rising out of the ocean' (opp. to 'cadentis'). The various corrections 'se mergentis,' 'immergentis,' 'mergentis' seem mistaken. Strabo (3. 1, 5, 138) cites from Posidonius, but disbelieves, a story of the

equorum et radios capitis adspici persuasio adicit. illuc usque
2 et fama vera tantum natura. ergo iam dextro Suebici maris
litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque
3 Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. matrem deum venerantur. insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omnique tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter

1. deorum all, equorum Coler., after a correction in one MS. 3. estiorum b H M, Aestorum S. abluuntur B b. 6. omnium MSS. text Lips. (with one inferior MS.).

sun sinking with a hissing sound off the west coast of Spain (cp. Juv. 14, 280).

1. **equorum**, adopted generally by recent edd. The ideas seem Roman, but Grimm shows that later German mythology respecting the sun is not without such imagery.

radios. It is thought that stories of Aurora borealis are alluded to, and that some saw in the description a resemblance to the 'corona radiata.'

persuasio, 'belief,' which Tacitus evidently did not share. The sun god and his chariot are no doubt to him mythical.

illuc usque, &c., 'up to that point, and by true report thus far only, extends the world': 'illuc' is repeated with 'tantum,' and 'est' or 'pertinet' would be supplied. Some prefer to take 'et fama vera' as a parenthesis. Halm and Mr. follow those who somewhat violently alter 'et' to 'si.' 'Natura' is shortened for 'rerum natura'; so in Agr. 33, 6 Caledonia is called 'terrarum et naturae finis.'

2. **ergo**, i.e. 'since the world ends here, I go back.'

iam dextro, 'close on the right shore': the eastern is so called, from a Roman standpoint.

Suebici maris, the Baltic, only here so named.

3. **Aestiorum.** The name is thought to have a German meaning ('venerandi'), but the people appear to have been a distinct race, living in east Prussia and the Lithuanian provinces of Russia, along the east coast of the Baltic to the Gulf of Finland, and speaking a language represented by old Prussian, Lithuanian, and Lettish. The name is generally traced in that of Esthonia, but the modern Esthonians are Finnish.

gentes, implying that they have subdivisions. Some of the names in Ptol. 3. 5, 21, 22 are thought by Mf. to be those of such.

ritus habitusque, 'their customs and outward appearance.'

4. **lingua Britannicae propior.** This is no doubt the vague information, probably of amber traders, who knew that the language was not German, and thought it sounded to the ear like British. Tacitus had mentioned Gallic speaking people in Germany (c. 43, 1), and was aware of the resemblance of British to Gallic (Agr. 11, 4), but speaks here as if there was some recognized difference. The language of this people must, however, have had more resemblance to German than to any form of Celtic.

matrem deum. This worship, introduced in B.C. 207 from Phrygia, was distinct to a Roman from that of 'Terra mater' (c. 40, 2), but it is by no means clear that Tacitus means here to distinguish them, still less that they are actually distinct (see note there, and Introd. p. 28). The attempts to find a Prusso-Lithuanian goddess to correspond seem to be visionary, nor do the authorities whom Tacitus follows appear to rest their identification on more than the wearing of figures of the boar by the votaries; such figures being worn as amulets by the priests and worshippers of the 'magna mater' in Rome. The boar was otherwise a German symbol (see on c. 7, 3), and regarded as typical of courage.

6. **omnique tutela**; so Halm, Z., Mr. Those who retain the MSS. text 'omnium' think the expression may mean 'protection against everything.' Another, and perhaps better, emenda-

hostis praestat. rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. frumenta 4
ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum
inertia laborant. sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium
sucinum, quod ipsi glaesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso
litore legunt. nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut bar- 5
baris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera
eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen.

4. succinum b. **glesum all, text Mf.**

tion is that of Urlichs, 'hominum' ('human protection').

1. **rarus ferri**, &c. The mention of these unarmed votaries seems to suggest that of the arms of this people in general. Iron is scarcer than even among Germans generally (c. 6, 1), and they have commonly to use clubs as weapons.

frumenta . . . laborant = 'in frumentis colendis laborant.' K. compares the concise expression 'vallare noctem' (c. 30, 2). 'Laborare' is transitive in Hor. Epod. 5, 60; the passive is used in Plin. 23, pr. 2.

2. **patientius**, 'more perseveringly.' On the German 'inertia,' see c. 14, 5; 15, 1; 26, 2.

3. **sed et**, i.e. not only do they work the land, but also search the seashore.

soli omnium, sc. 'Germanorum.' Pytheas speaks of amber (Plin. 37. 2, 11, 35) as found among the Gutones, and sold by them to the Teutones. It is really found in many other parts of the world, but only on the shores of the Baltic in sufficient quantity to be an article of commerce.

4. **sucinum**, used for amber in Plin. ma., Mart., Juv., and expressing its character as an exudation ('sucus'). Romans also borrow the Greek term *ἤλεκτρον*, and (like the Greeks) use it both of amber and of a metallic compound of gold and silver. This ambiguity affects the interpretation of several passages, but it is probable that amber is spoken of in the Odyssey and Hesiod (see Merry on Od. 4. 73) and in Hdt. 3. 115, and it came to be worked into the myth of the sisters of Phaethon apparently as early as the time of Aeschylus (Plin. 37. 2, 11, 31). Pliny gives an elaborate account of it (37. 2, 11, 30–51), bringing together apparently all that was known down to his own time, and showing the extreme vagueness and ignorance of Greek writers as to the locality whence it came. He himself says that it reached Rome chiefly through Pannonia, and that the traders stated that it came from a seashore 600 miles distant from Carnuntum.

glaesum, so read by most recent edd. after the best text (v. l. 'glessum') of Pliny (l. l. 42), who calls it a German word, and adds that an island 'Glaesaria,' called by the barbarians Austeravia, was known to Romans in the time of Germanicus. The word denotes brilliancy, from the same root as 'glare,' 'glass,' &c.: the modern German 'bernstein' is connected with 'brennen' ('to burn').

5. **quae natura quaeve ratio.** K. supplies 'sit' with 'natura,' others take the words as a hendiadys for 'naturae ratio,' 'what natural process.' It is a resinoid substance exuded from a tree ('pinites sucinifer') of the coal epoch or produced during the formation of coal or lignite: see Humboldt, Kosmos, E. T. (Sabine) i. 273.

ut: cp. c. 2, 4: 'barbaris,' dat. of agent; cp. c. 16, 1; 31, 1; &c.

6. **quin etiam**, in anastrophe, as in Verg. Aen. 2, 768, &c.

7. **eiectamenta**, 'refuse'; only here and once in Appul.

nomen, 'reputation' (cp. c. 13, 4). Pliny (l.l. 35) cites Pytheas as speaking of it as used and sold by the Germans only as fuel. The great trade with Rome was recent, as Pliny speaks of it (§ 45) as 'percognitum nuper,' and of a Roman knight still living, who had been sent

ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque
6 mirantes accipiunt. sucum tamen arborum esse intellegas,
quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque
interiacent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia
7 cluduntur. fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis
secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis
terrisque inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis expressa
atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempes-
8 tatum in adversa litora exundant. si naturam sucini admoto
igni temptes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam
pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.
9 Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes

2. succum b C c H S, sucum B M. 6. sudant B b, text C c. 7. radius B b C S, text c H M. 9. exudant C, exsudant c. 10. igne B C H M S, igni b c. 12. Suionibus . . . degenerant placed by Schütz at end of c. 44. sithonum b. gens B b[1]. continuatur B.

to get it in Nero's time, and brought home an enormous quantity. It is earlier alluded to as an ornament in Ov. M. 2. 366.

1. **rude . . . informe,** 'rough and shapeless'; so of stones in A. 12, 35, 5.

2. **tamen,** i.e. though the people themselves knew nothing of it.

sucum . . . arborum: see on § 5.

3. **terrena . . . volucria animalia,** 'creeping and winged creatures.' Pliny (§ 46) instances ants, gnats, and lizards, Martial (6. 59) even a viper.

plerumque, 'often'; cp. c. 13, 4, &c.

5. **cluduntur** = 'includuntur'; on the use of simple for compound words, see Introd. p. 9.

sicut Orientis secretis, 'as in the retired regions of the East.'

6. **tura balsamaque.** Frankincense came only from the Arabian Sabaeans (Verg. G. 2, 117), and balsam or balm from Palestine (H. 5. 6, 3).

sudantur: for the passive cp. 'sudataque ligno tura' (Ov. M. 10, 388). The alternative 'sudant' is retained by some, who take it transitively, as in Verg. Ecl. 8, 55 ('sudent electra myricae'), &c., and supply a subject from 'nemora lucosque.'

7. **quae . . . expressa,** &c. This is generally taken to be an extremely harsh brachylogy for 'nemora lucosque quorum suci expressi,' &c.: many have supposed a corruption, and various emendations have been suggested. It is perhaps a lesser difficulty to take the words as they stand by supplying from 'quae' a subject ('ea') to 'inesse.' 'As in the East there are more productive trees than elsewhere, so I would believe that in the islands and mainland of the West there are substances which,' &c. That these substances also are found in trees, would be implied rather than expressed.

vicini solis: cp. § 1.

9. **exundant,** 'are cast up.'

naturam, 'the substance,' qualities: for 'temptes' cp. c. 6, 5; 14, 3.

11. **ut in picem,** 'into a substance like pitch.'

lentescit, 'dissolves'; so of that which becomes sticky in Verg. G. 2, 250.

12. **Suionibus,** &c. If these words are rightly placed here, we must suppose that he goes back to the Sitones as opposite to the Aestii; but there is much to be said for the view of Schütz (adopted by Z.), who transposes the words to the end of c. 44, and reads 'trans Sitonas' in the beginning of c. 45.

Sitonum. These are nowhere else named, but are thought to have been Finns living in Scandinavia, known

uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.

46. Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. sordes omnium

3. hi b. fines all, text Put. Venethorum and Venetorum MSS., text Rhen. 6. ut Germani . . . diversa Sarmatis om. C.

under a name given by Germans and denoting 'settlers.'

continuantur, middle, 'join on to.'

1. **quod femina dominatur.** This is thought by Mf. to have been a fable founded on the fact that these Finns distinguished themselves from the highland Lapps as 'kainulaiset' (a Finnish word for 'Lowlander'), in which was thought to lie a root of the Gothic 'quino' or 'quens,' English 'quean' (γυνή), whence arose legends of a 'cvena land' or 'terra feminarum' in the north, like the tales of Scythic Amazons.

in tantum, 'to such an extent.'

2. **a servitute degenerant**, 'fall below even slavery' (of the ordinary type).

3. **Hic Suebiae finis**: cp. c. 38, 1. Some would transpose these words, as well as the preceding, to the end of c. 44, but they seem required here to point the contrast to the names which follow.

Peucinorum. These took their name from an island belonging to the delta of the Danube. They are identified by Tacitus with the Bastarnae (see below), but are more properly a division of them.

Venedorum. Some retain 'Venetorum,' thinking that Tacitus may have confused the name with that of the Gallic (Caes. 3. 8, 1) or Adriatic (Polyb. 2. 17, 5) Veneti. The right name is clearly 'Venedae,' or 'Venedi' (Plin. 4. 13, 27, 97; Ptol. 3. 5, 19), answering to the 'Winidae' of Iornandes. Ptol. also gives their name to some mountains and a gulf not easy to identify. In later times 'Wend' is a German designation (thought to mean 'men of the pastures,' nomads) for the Slavic tribes generally, and is no more properly a national name than 'Welshmen,' so that we have probably here a people of that race known to Romans only through German information, and then probably living from the east of the Vistula to the sources of the Borysthenes, in and round Poland.

4. **Fennorum.** These are mentioned by no earlier writer, and are the Φίννοι of Ptol. 3. 5, 20, the Finns of the mainland north of the Aestii, extending from the Baltic to the Ural mountains. The name again is German, not national (derived by Zeuss from the Gothic 'fani,' 'fen,' by Mf. from 'finna' = 'pinna,' in reference to their use of snowshoes). It is thought that these Fenni correspond more in description to the Lapps (see notes below); the true Finns being the Sitones of c. 45, 9.

Sarmatis, not here used with the special sense of c. 1, 1, but of all the Scythian hordes from the Black Sea northwards. The Sarmatians of this tract must have been at least in great part Slavonian (see Introd. p. 15, note 6).

5. **quamquam**, qualifying the doubt as regards the first named.

Bastarnas, a widespread name with many subdivisions (Strab. 7. 3, 15, 305 foll.) extending from the sources of the Vistula to the mouth of the Danube, and forming one of Pliny's five generic names (see on c. 2, 3). They are generally reckoned as true Germans, and as the first of the race mentioned in history, having been invited by Philip of Macedon to aid him against the Romans in B.C. 179 (Liv. 40. 57).

sermone. Their language was somewhat known to Romans; of that of the Venedi and Fenni Tacitus knows and says nothing.

6. **cultu**: cp. c. 31, 4; 43, 1.

sede ac domiciliis, 'mode of settlement and building houses': i.e. in having fixed dwellings (see § 2): 'agunt' as in c. 29, 3.

ac torpor: *ora* procerum conubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarma-
2 tarum habitum foedantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxe-
runt; nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac
montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant. hi tamen inter Ger-
manos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant
et pedum usu et pernicitate gaudent: quae omnia diversa
3 Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira
feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates;
victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: solae in sagittis

1. ora ins. Heraeus. mixtos or mistos all, text all edd. 5. fingunt c H M S, figunt B b. 6. pecudum B b^1, peditum b^2 c, text Lips.

sordes omnium ac torpor: ora, &c. Halm, Z., Mr., follow Heräus in inserting 'ora,' which might easily have dropped out. Others retain the MSS. text, but differ in respect of the stopping, some putting a stop after 'torpor,' others after 'procerum.' The nominative by itself is harsh; some such words as 'propriae sunt' having to be supplied with 'sordes'; and although it seems clear that 'omnium' is opposed to 'procerum,' it is not so certain whether the 'sordes' and 'torpor' are meant to be points of resemblance to Germans (cp. c. 20, 1; 15, 1) or of difference (c. 22, 1; 14, 3). The latter view is most in accordance with the context here as a whole; the whole passage 'sordes ... traxerunt' being apparently a description of non-German traits, and German 'proceres' at least being generally described as energetic (c. 13, 14). Some follow Urlichs in inserting the words 'sordes ... procerum' between 'dubito' and 'quamquam,' making 'omnium' refer to all the three nations here mentioned.

2. **habitum,** 'appearance': cp. c. 4, 2.

foedantur; the Sarmatae being a lower type.

moribus, sc. 'Sarmatarum,' in contrast to the mere 'habitus,' as also 'multum' to 'nonnihil.'

traxerunt, 'have derived': cp. A. 15. 68, 4.

4. **montium,** the Οὐενεδικὰ ὄρη of Ptol. 3. 5, 15. Nothing worthy of the name exists in this tract, but the Valda hills near Novgorod, and the higher ground in which the rivers rise may be meant.

erigitur, 'lifts itself': cp. 'insula ... erigitur' (Verg. Aen. 8, 416).

pererrant, perhaps more emphatic than 'latrociniis'; for Germans also had plundering habits (c. 14, 5), though less pronounced than those of less settled tribes.

tamen, 'in spite of these differences.'

5. **domos figunt,** 'they construct permanent houses': cp. (Frisii) 'fixerant domos' (A. 13. 54, 3).

6. **pedum,** taken also with 'pernicitate.' The Sarmatae relied only on the 'pernicitas equorum,' and were most inefficient on foot, most formidable on horseback (H. 1. 79, 4).

7. **Sarmatis,** brachylogical for 'Sarmatarum moribus.'

Fennis mira feritas. The three nations are described in a descending series; the Bastarnae differed somewhat from the German type, the Venedi more, the Fenni most of all.

8. **non arma.** The bows and arrows mentioned below are used to procure food and are not counted as arms.

non penates, 'no household' (cp. c. 15, 1), no regular dwelling place, in contrast to 'domos figunt' above.

9. **victui,** &c.: for these datives, cp. c. 23, 1.

herba. This seems plainly inconsistent with what is said of their hunting. He may mean only that they had no agricultural produce, and had to live to a great extent on wild plants and roots.

cubile. Halm, after Wölfflin, reads 'cubili,' to make the construction answer to that of 'victui'; but such variations are common in Tacitus.

opes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. idemque venatus viros
pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque
praedae petunt. nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque 4
suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur:
huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. sed beatius 5
arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas
alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare: securi adversus
homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt,
ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. cetera iam fabulosa: 6
Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum voltusque, corpora atque

1. spes all, opes Meiser. 8. difficilem B b, text all others. sunt om. b. 10. oxiones B[1], oxionas b[1] c, exionas C, etionas B[2] b[2] and two others.

1. **opes**, so Halm and Z., after Meiser (cp. c. 5, 2); perhaps more likely to have been written than 'spes,' as giving a contrast to 'paupertas.' Other edd. retain the MSS. text. With the Germans archery seems to have been a late introduction, as 'Pfeil' (arrow) is thought to be a loan-word from 'pilum' (Taylor, Origin of Aryans, p. 151).

inopia ferri: cp. c. 45, 3.

asperant, properly 'sharpen' (cp. pugionem . . . asperari iussit, A. 15. 54, 1) here 'make points for.' Bone arrow-heads were used in the time of Pausanias (Att. 21, 5) by Sarmatians, and are stated to be even now in use in Lapland and in parts of Siberia.

2. **comitantur**, sc. 'feminae viros.' The extreme form of the hunter's life is that in which women hunt as well as men.

3. **petunt**, 'claim for themselves.'

4. **suffugium**: for the genit. cp. c. 16, 4.

aliquo ramorum nexu. Laplanders are described as living still in hovels, made of four boughs bent together and held in place by twisted twigs and covered with some sort of canvas; and such a mode of life is described by Hdt. (4. 23, 6), but with some distinction between summer and winter dwellings, which Tacitus here ignores.

5. **redeunt**, i.e. from hunting.

receptaculum, 'their refuge' when they can hunt no more.

beatius arbitrantur, &c. The ascription of a philosophical view of life to such people is to be noted as a flourish of rhetoric.

6. **ingemere agris** (dat.); imitated from 'bidenti,' 'aratro ingemere' (Lucr. 5, 209; Verg. G. 1, 45).

inlaborare domibus. This verb is ἅπ. εἰρ. and evidently coined to answer to 'ingemere.' It would seem therefore that it must take the same construction, and that the phrase must mean 'toil over house building,' in contrast to their rude shelter above described. K. takes it to mean 'labour indoors,' thinking that Tacitus means to describe the three leading forms of civilized industrial life, that of the agriculturist, the artisan, and the trader.

7. **versare**, 'to traffic with their own and others' fortunes under hope and fear'; as do all traders.

securi, &c., 'having nothing to fear at the hands of men or gods,' i. e. having nothing to excite the 'invidia' of either, nothing (except life) of which they could be deprived.

9. **ne voto quidem opus esset**, they have nothing to pray for or long for; have neither a longing nor even the idea of one.

cetera iam fabulosa, 'all from this point is fabulous.'

10. **Hellusios**, nowhere else mentioned, and taken by Mf. to mean 'giants.' A people of somewhat similar name ('Hilleviones') are placed by Pliny (4. 14, 27, 96) in Scandinavia.

Oxionas. The v.l. 'etionas' shows

artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam.

1. in medium all, text Nipp. and Halm.

that the name in the archetypal MS. was not clearly legible. Mf. prefers the latter form, and takes it to mean 'greedy giants,' probably giving the idea of cannibals or ogres.

ora . . . gerere; so Mela (3. 6, 56) speaks (cp. also Plin. 4. 14, 27, 95) of 'Hippopodae' and of 'Panotae' (creatures with patulous ears) in those parts. Cp. also the tales given in A. 2. 24, 6. Mf. thinks some such stories may have arisen from seeing men wrapped in skins, with only their heads showing. For other such tales, see Friedländer, Sitteng. ii. 90.

1. **incompertum.** He seems to hesitate to call such tales positively incredible, though 'fabulosa.'

in medio: so most recent edd. taking it to be adopted from Sall. Cat. 19, 8 (cp. also Cic. pro. Cael. 20, 48). Those who read 'medium' refer to Gell. 17. 2, where the expression is defended by the analogy of *θεῖναι εἰς μέσον*, but is admitted to be contrary to common usage.

I.

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